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ABSTRACT

This collection of 14 articles look at the issues in theory and application that arise in the use of simplification in language pedagogy. Articles include the following: (1) "Simplification in Pedagogy" (Christopher Brumfit); (2) "Simplification" (H. V. George); (3) "Fossilization as Simplification?" (Larry Selinker); (4) "Modifications that Preserve Language and Content" (Michael H. Long and Steven Ross); (5) "Naturally Simplified Input, Comprehension, and Second Language Acquisition" (Rod Ellis); (6) "What's Simple in Simplified Language?" (Kenneth S. Goodman and David Freeman); (7) "Teaching Casual Conversation: The Issue of Simplification" (Diana Slade and Rod Gardner); (8) "Simply Defining: Constructing a Dictionary of Language Testing" (Alan Davies); (9) "Simplification in Student Writing" (A. Chandrasegaran); (10) "Responding to Task Difficulty: What Is Involved in Adjusting the Relationship Between Learners and Learning Experiences?" (John Honeyfield); (11) "Do Simplified Texts Simplify Language Comprehension for ESL Learners?" (Heather Lotherington-Woloszyn); (12) "Teaching and Learning Simplification Strategies in a Philippine Classroom: A Pilot Study" (Bonifacio P. Sibayan, Ma. Lourdes S. Batista, Andrew Gonzalez); (13) "Measuring Readiness for Simplified Material: A Test of the First 1,000 Words of English" (Paul Nation); (14) "Appendix: Simplification: A Viewpoint in Outline" (Makhan L. Tickoo). (MDM)

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SIMPLIFICATION:
THEORY AND APPLICATION

SIMPLIFICATION: THEORY AND APPLICATION

Edited

by

M L Tickoo

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5

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CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	iii
Introduction	v
Part I: Simplification in Pedagogy *Christopher Brumfit*	1
Simplification *H V George*	7
Fossilization as Simplification? *Larry Selinker*	14
Part II: Modifications that Preserve Language and Content *Michael H Long and Steven Ross*	29
Naturally Simplified Input, Comprehension and Second Language Acquisition *Rod Ellis*	53
What's Simple in Simplified Language? *Kenneth S Goodman and David Freeman*	69

Page

Part III:

Teaching Casual Conversation: The Issue of Simplification 82
Diana Slade and Rod Gardner

Simply Defining: Constructing a Dictionary of Language Testing 101
Alan Davies

Simplification in Student Writing 114
A Chandrasegaran

Responding to Task Difficulty: What is involved in Adjusting the Relationship between Learners and Learning Experiences? 127
John Honeyfield

Part IV:

Do Simplified Texts Simplify Language Comprehension for ESL Learners? 140
Heather Lotherington-Woloszyn

Teaching and Learning Simplification Strategies in a Philippine Classroom - A Pilot Study 155
Bonifacio P Sibayan, Ma. Lourdes S Bautista and Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

Measuring Readiness for Simplified Material: A Test of the First 1,000 words of English 193
Paul Nation

Appendix: Simplification: A Viewpoint in Outline 204
Makhan L Tickoo

List of Contributors 216

Foreword

This volume on Simplification - Theory and Application - is the fifth in the RELC series of 'State of the Art' anthologies. It also marks the Silver Jubilee year of this SEAMEO Centre (1968-1993).

Publications which address issues in language education have formed an integral part of the Centre's activities from its inception. This series in particular focuses on those areas in language pedagogy where teachers require informed understanding of the on-going research and study in language-related academic disciplines. In its earlier volumes it has already brought together the views of leading theoreticians and practitioners within and outside Southeast Asia on Language Syllabuses, Languages for Specific Purposes, Learners' Dictionaries and Languages and the Issues of Standards and Models.

One of every language teacher's major tasks is to make classroom inputs comprehensible. He must use every possible means at his disposal to reach the learners at their own levels of background and world knowledge. Simplification in its various forms serves this pedagogic need and good teachers must learn how to make the best use of it in varying contexts of language use. Among other things, a good teacher has to be a good simplifier, one who reaches out to every individual student at his/her own level of language competence.

Some teachers need simplification much more than others. These are the writers of instructional materials who work in centres of curriculum development and institutes of textbook production. They must make sure that what they write becomes 'comprehensible input' for the learners at a distance. Doing so takes both art and experience and it comes through a lot of successful practice.

This anthology brings together the work of linguists and language educators from many countries and continents to look at the issues in theory and application that arise in the use of simplification in language pedagogy. All the contributors have offered specially written papers in answer to the editor's invitation to do so. The Centre would like to thank them for their highly valued contributions. The anthology is meant for practitioners at various levels of language education. As always, the Centre welcomes their comments and suggestions for its improvement and updating. In associating myself with this volume of select papers which addresses an issue that has been close to my heart as a teacher of English as a second/foreign language and as a designer of language programmes, I would like to commend it to language educators and teachers of first, second and foreign languages in Southeast Asia and beyond.

Edwin Goh
Director
January 1993

Introduction

A. On Why:

To say that effective communication depends on appropriate uses of simplification(S) is perhaps a platitude. Not only do people engaged in politics, pedagogy and parenting routinely resort to S, most people do so when, as part of ordinary living, they seek the right means to ease the traffic of ideas across borders.

But platitudinous or not, the statement has not risen above dispute. Doubts persist on whether S is always used in contexts where it is believed to be at work (see, e.g. Schieffelin, 1979; Ochs, 1982 & Heath, 1982 on the use of S in L1 acquisition). Questions arise in deciding what constitutes S or in determining the nature of the interaction that takes place when S is brought into operation (e.g. Schachter, 1983).

On the other hand even those who question the value of S by bringing in evidence against its centrality in human interaction, do not deny its place in learning other languages. Simplified language may not constitute the whole of 'comprehensible input' (Krashen, 1985), S does play a pivotal part in its making. The processes and products of S occupy a distinctive place in the study of language as in its application to 'easify' language-based communication.

To explore S in the study and use of language a division into primarily linguistic (LS) and mainly pedagogic (PS) suggests itself. The former comprises movements, events or advances in which the main foci of operations have been (a) language's systems, structures or discourse; the latter consists of ideas, plans or programmes whose primary goal has been to smoothe the processes of teaching and learning languages. Illustrative examples of both LS and PS together with some notes on each make up the appendix to this volume that was sent out to select scholars with an invitation to write for it.

L2 practitioners, be they curriculum developers, writers of materials or classroom teachers, need to make far greater use of PS than other users of language. For most of them, however, it is no more than a taken-for-granted resource whose place and value are sanctioned by proven practice. Most of them may be unaware of the issues that have arisen not only about the efficacy of PS as an aid to Second Language Acquisition (SLA) but also about the consequences of its excessive or unplanned use in courses or classrooms. Doubts such as the following, which have gained both depth and substance in applied linguistic scholarship of the last two decades, are no part of their professional concern:

'Does PS, especially in its widespread use in materials that serve to ease the learner's access to a new language, become an effective aid or might it,in the long run,do as much harm as good?'

There can be at least two attestable reasons why such a practitioner may doubt or even summarily dismiss the critic's questions on the place of PS as a valued ally. The first,only partially explored, is that PS has been dogged by doubt from its very beginning. Fresh doubts about its value are therefore seen as being no more than a caviling critic's attempts at nitpicking. The second - a more tenable reason - is that if use shows usefulness, PS has eminently proved itself in L2 pedagogy of the last many years. A recent Edinburgh survey of graded readers in English (Hill & Thomas: 1988) found, for example, that the number of supplementary readers available on the market had increased to nearly two thousand. This was found true despite the fact that a) very few of such readers at present cater for genuine beginners and b) "there is a serious lack of material that would fill the gap between graded and simplified readers." It may also be true that the survey covered only those SRs which originated in the English-speaking world. In spite of this an obvious inference is that SRs continue to satisfy an ever-mounting demand.

For a practitioner to hold such a view would be wrong however because during the last two decades questions of consequence to language educators have been both raised and engaged. Not only that, it was during the latter half of the 1980s that attempts were made to study PS in its hitherto uncovered complexities and,more importantly, to work towards alternatives to it.

Doubts about the efficacy and impact of PS as an second language (L2) teaching resource have most noticeably grown in its use in the design and development of ESL reading materials. Of late however questions like 'How far has PS helped to improve dictionary definitions?' or, more specifically, 'Which of the two makes for a more user-friendly dictionary example - an utterance taken from a computer data-base or one suitably crafted by an experienced lexicopragpher?' - have also been receiving serious scholarly attention.

Work on this 'state of the art' anthology on aspects of S began in the belief that by entering the evolving dialogue on PS and its place in L2 pedagogy, language teachers can make it serve them better at their work. Classroom teachers will undoubtedly need to know a lot more. They must know, for example, how best to make supplementary readers (SRs) a rich learning resource, what means to adopt in selecting the ones that can answer the learners' needs at varying levels of linguistic competence,and what judgments to make in building 'book corners' in their classrooms. Most of these have been addressed however in papers (e.g. Carter, 1986; Vincent, 1986) or books (e.g. Hedge, 1985).

B. On How Things Began:

A busy practitioner is unlikely to be aware of one other aspect of this subject, an aspect that should enable him/her to relate to its present concerns with both clarity and conviction. This important aspect is a knowledge of where, when and how it all began. The select review of the major events that follows is meant to provide relevant parts of the available information:

From L1 to L2: Teachers' Wordbooks -

In 1921 E L Thorndike, an outstanding psychologist, published his Teachers' Wordbook 1 (TWB) based on a large and wide ranging corpus-based count of English words (Thorndike, 1921). By no means the first such count (For a historical review see Fries & Traver, 1940), Thorndike's was perhaps the first in being directed to defined language teaching purposes.

Thorndike made three main claims to TWB's pedagogic value: One, that whereas "the conscientious and thoughtful teacher now spends much time and thought in deciding the pedagogical treatment to use in the case of the words that offer difficulty to pupils", TWB "helps (him) to decide quickly which treatment is appropriate by telling him just how important any word is." Two, for the less experienced teacher, it gives that knowledge of word-value which the experienced teacher gets over a long period of "classroom experimentation". Three, for all teachers, it provides "a convenient place to record any useful facts about those words by which teaching can be guided and improved." With his main interest in reading in the mother language (in his case English), Thorndike had thus come to the conclusion that giving English language teachers access to facts about 'essential' English by making them aware of word-values, was a decisive step towards better reading instruction. Through their 'zoned' listing of the commonest English words, his three WBs (1921, 1932 & with Lorge, 1944) were designed to serve this primary need.

Working in India, Michael West had, at about the same time (West 1926), arrived at the understanding that what learners of English needed the most was self-reliant silent reading. His belief that the relative occurrence of a word in a representative corpus signified its relative usefulness for learning a language, was also no different from Thorndike's. In one important respect however West went beyond Thorndike. He not only built on earlier counts to give L2 practitioners a semantic list of essential words (West, 1953) that has continued to serve for over a quarter century, not only produced a defining vocabulary (West, 1933) which has proved its value among teachers and makers of learners' dictionaries (Tickoo 1989),

he carried its fruits to the ES(F)L learner. In his belief that "If we can ensure that every child who begins to study a foreign language shall, at the end of two years, be able to derive pleasure from reading it, we shall have ensured that no child who begins a foreign language will ever in the future, be able to regret it afterwards as a waste of time", he set about devising the best means of doing so. The result was a new type of reading book which first came out in British India. Of what he had achieved West wrote: "I Was, I Believe, the pioneer in this type of reading-book - the book abbreviated and retold within a limited vocabulary. The first book of this kind was written in 1926: it was Robinson Crusoe in the New Method Series. It has now a very numerous progeny, issued by various publishers." (West 1964)

Not long after this Harold Palmer in Japan, having produced several SRs,added a new dimension to the reform. In his own words: "The next year (1932) appeared a Memorandum called The Grading and Simplifying of Literary Material written for and published by the (IRET)*. In this were set forth (probably for the first time) the relations between a given limited (or controlled) vocabulary and simplified texts written within its radius."

Pioneering work on SRs for ESL thus began in Asia in the 1920s: Michael West attempted the first such book in India and Harold Palmer followed soon after in Japan.

The two pioneers shared a common concern. In 1928 Palmer expressed it thus: "The sort of English presented in the majority of readers now used in Japan is marked in the earlier stages by an abundance of words and expressions suitable only for English (or American) children of the age from five to ten years, and in the later stages by types of diction ranging between the mawkish, the pompous, and the archaic styles" (Palmer 1928). Two years earlier West's analysis of the most used books in British Bengal had similarly revealed that beginners' books contained "an ill-conceived mixture of the simplest and the very straightforward with the strangest, most outlandish and unfamiliar in words as in style and structure" (West

* Institute for Research in English Teaching, Tokyo.

1926). The English textbook in use,having become an "utterly neglected commodity" and having for long been left to the mercies of "literary hacks, unemployed lawyers - or less successful schoolmasters", it was time to act.

Effective use of S to produce materials suited to L2 learner needs at different stages became a primary means to that end.

Together with people who worked with them,the two pioneers wrote, trial-tested, revised and published SRs which served as models for much that followed for many years. Each offered his views on what he expected his products to achieve and, in looking back at what they had produced, each highlighted the features that stood out. A brief reference to relevant parts of what was said and done merits attention.

C. On S in L2 reading materials:

C.1. Harold E Palmer (1877-1949):

In Palmer's work vocabulary selection and text simplification stood together. His interest in both is as evident in his earliest work as an untrained, underqualified ESL teacher as it is in what he wrote thirty years later (Palmer, 1931) as an acknowledged advisor to the world of ELT. A common set of pedagogic purposes, however, held it together. These were :

1. (To) help the learner read with ease and understanding
2. act as a corrective to the abuses of stylistics
3. provide opportunities for comparing the original and the rewritten
4. make reading materials serve as models for written composition.

Based on his own and his colleagues' successes at S, Palmer wrote his 'memorandum' - The Grading and Simplifying of Literary Material - to explain his approach and to share his experience with fellow producers. In it he discussed devices such as replacement, addition and omission, detailing specific ways in which each contributed to making the rewritten/adpated work suitable for the tasks in hand.

Simplified texts were divided into "the progressively graded" and "the statically graded". In the former new linguistic material was gradually and progressivly introduced in quantities and proportions determined in advance;in the latter the texts were written within the limits of a vocabulary radius determined in advance.

Especially for materials written within a prespecified limited vocabulary, Palmer justified the need to observe what he called the 'principles of lexicological proportion'. Four of these that received both explanatory and illustrative support in his own work were:

a. Observe a proportion between the radius of 'mere words' and the degree of difficulty offered by symbols other than words;

b. Observe some proportion between the radius and the semantic varieties of the words contained in it;

c. Observe some proportion between the words of a radius and their non-normal collocations;

d. Observe some proportion between the radius and the degree of regularity of the derivatives of the words contained in it.

In a life-time of work on word selection and Text Simplification, which for him belonged together, Palmer made sizeable additions to the craft, not all of which have received the attention they deserve.

C.2. Michael Philip West: (1888-1973)

West was different in that his work on words, on reading and on the many SRs that he produced, was part of an alternative concept and programme of bilingual education. For him reading was the main goal and also the principal means for giving the foreign learner what he most needed from an international

language of learning in countries whose 'in languages' (West, 1958) were found insufficient as gateways to scientific knowledge. His contributions to the art and craft of materials writing are obvious both in the approach he evolved and in the quantity and quality of materials he produced.

The first practitioner to write a book entitled The Construction of Reading Materials for Teaching a Foreign Language (West 1927), West worked to make the EFL textbook the kingpin of his reform. "Given a textbook," he firmly believed, "all that the teacher needs to do is to teach it". He gave a sizeable part of his working life to make that possible. SRs formed part of that life-long quest.

The main purpose that an SR served was "to form in the learner the habit of reading English books for pleasure" (West 1964). However, in the bulk of what he produced or promoted West had well-defined purposes for a four-stage operation. These were:

1. (to) introduce the learner to reading for pleasure
2. build habits of reading for pleasure
3. give a foretaste of the original
4. provide a lead-in to unadapted books.

In detailing the requirements for each stage in the production of such SRs, West made it clear that "a technically correct adaptation with no hidden snags,and written in such a way as to be enjoyable" should be attempted by only those who "would themselves be capable of selling an original story or novel"(Ibid). He warned too that an SR that was not interesting was as good as useless; it was in truth "a book murdered." "Simplification and abridgement", he wrote, "have brought to life not a few books which, for the foreign reader and the English schoolchild, would otherwise be completely dead: they have also murdered not a few whose lives might have been saved." (West, 1950)

West also discussed "the technique of the supplementary reader" (which he also called the 'plateau reader'). Such a reader "gives extra practice in reading... reviews and fixes the vocabulary already learned.. 'stretches' that vocabulary... to give a greater width of meaning to the words already learnt" and "by showing the learner that what he has learned so far really enables him to do something,... encourages him to read matter which is worth reading" (West,1950). From that basic statement he went on to specifically address the many aspects/elements of language and style that required attention in crafting and judging such a reader.

The first of these was vocabulary: "whether the book is taking full advantage of the vocabulary". An extensive series of experiments and long experience in materials design had shown West that a) "a vocabulary of 2,000 words was good enough for anything and more than one needs for most things" and b) what set apart a truly competent writer was his/her ability to stretch the given words to their maximum potential. He pointed out some of the differences between the vocabulary of speech and of reading, of ordinary use as opposed to language used to add one or another type of special flavour: "... We find frequently in novels the Cockney, the Scotsman, the common soldier, each distinguished in the original book by variations from standard English: we find also in historical books obsolete and semi-poetical words used to give a crusty antique flavour". He warned the simplifier against the tendency to carry such language into the simplified version.

Grammar came next. The obvious failure was the use of "uncontrolled grammar". But there were other, more specific problems as well. West singled out the excessive use of reported speech which, in his judgment, not only "devitalizes a book" but was also "one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the foreign reader."

Under style he discussed sentence length and detailed the unnecessary use of pronouns which often caused problems of miscomprehension among foreign readers. He also referred to several forms of "the veiled reference" which similarly led to incomprehension.

Above all, he demanded that the abridged work justify itself by its impact on the reader: "Does it grip him quickly? Does it sustain his suspense? Has it a worthy climax? Does it peter out, or end with a snap so that the reader does not find himself skipping the last ten pages? Or, in the case of the character novel at a higher level,do the characters live - or are they devitalized shadows? Is the setting real or just a washy sketch." For him a good adaptation had to justify itself on each of these counts.

D. On S at work - Questions & Answers:

D.1. Doubts about the value of S and what it does to the original are almost as old as its very first products. Early in the 1930s critics, mainly literary scholars and teachers of literature, argued against S on grounds that in "attaching more importance to the linguistic needs of (the) readers than to the literary value of the authors" (Oversea Education, 1932, Redman, 1932), its proponents very often sacrificed the merits of the original. In their view most such work produced pale imitations of the original which lacked the linguistic, emotional and aesthetic qualities that marked good literature.On a more specific level it was also pointed out that the simplifier, in trying to overstretch the limits of what was possible within a predefined radius of words, often ends up with a bowdlerized form of the original work. Notable examples of this existed in, for example, the Basic English versions of the plays of William Shakespeare.

D.2. There is a difference however between such literary-judgment based criticism of S and the understanding that has followed the linguists' engagement with texts. Less than 20 years old, the latter began in a doubt: 'Does the simplification of linguistic elements necessarily result in the simplification of the text as a piece of communication?' (Davies and Widdowson, 1974). The doubt arose in the growing concern that ESL materials, in making use of contrived language to demonstrate the rules of the language system, very often presented the foreign student with models of English prose that were markedly different from language used in actual communication.

With valuable experience gained in the analysis and writing of ESP texts and teaching materials,the linguist soon began to offer both insights into and alternatives to established forms of S. Tommola (1979 in Davies, 1984) showed, for example, that in making use of a restricted set of features from a fuller range of language resources that are available for use, the simplifier presents the learner with not "a simpler language system but with a restricted sample of the full system."

With similar if somewhat deeper awareness of facts gained in designing innovative materials (e.g. Allen and Widdowson, 1973-) Widdowson next (1978, 1979) brought out a basic limitation of most simplified materials. He made use of a now-famous distinction that he had drawn earlier, viz. that between usage and use - to assert that writers of textbooks and simplified materials often failed to see that "the simplifying of usage does not necessarily result in the simplification of use,that is to say, it does not necessarily facilitate communication. On the contrary it very often makes communication less effective." He also proposed an alternative which, as well as promising to serve the pedagogic purposes of S, kept in tact the authenticity of the texts.

A major step forward, the Widdowsonian alternative is based on another distinction that he drew between what he called a 'simplified account' and a 'simple account'. The former fails because, in working on the language code while attempting to retain the propositions of the original, it changes the linguistic connections between them. The latter is different in that it is not "an alternative textualization of a given discourse but a different discourse altogether." (Ibid, 1978). "A simple account", says Widdowson "is a genuine instance of discourse, designed to meet a communicative purpose... a simplified version is not genuine discourse, it is a contrivance for teaching language." (ibid, 88-89).

Strengthened by a data-based study which lends partial support to the Widdowsonian alternative, Davies (1984) offered new insights into the nature of S at the same time as he extended the scope of the dialogue on the uses and abuses of S in language teaching.

The linguist's insightful observations on the process and product of S. have undoubtedly enriched the ongoing dialogue on the pedagogic possibilities of S. As a result studies have also been undertaken on not only the theory that supports S but on the practices that simplifiers currently adopt in producing materials. The alternative proposed has raised issues however and they belong to both the theory and to its application. Some of these issues are:

1. Does S. always lead to distortion and complexifixation or might its impact vary with the type of material being adapted? Is it possible, for example, that literary texts, which have for long served as the staple for reading materials, lend themselves better to S than do genres of non-literary prose? (see, e.g. Lucas 1992 for the view that a literary text evokes a different attitude from the adapter and is best altered through S).

2. What sets apart a simple account from a simplified account? Could the differences between them be those of degree or are they always of kind? Is there reason to believe that the either-or view of the phenomenon on which the distinction stands ("the binary distinctions... are too black-and-white" Swales, 1985), ignores parts of the reality? Also, based on the use of such 'simple account' materials in ESP classrooms, is it possible to argue a) that such materials are often and in equal measure capable of failures similar to those of simplified materials b) that not all such materials prove their communicative effect and finally, c) that such accounts may also, in varying degrees, make use of the source without the authors' being fully conscious of how much they rely on it? Most rewritings, as Davies shows,are "partly simple accounts and partly simplified versions." (Davies, 1984)

3. The judgment on ease or difficulty of a piece of writing ought at least in part to be that of the reader. Studies done to find out the readers' views of the SRs that they read appear, in general, to show that most such materials serve the original purposes set by West and others for their use as an aid to reading. It is also true, as I found out from a questionnaire-based study done at RELC using teachers of English from several Southeast Asain countries as its subjects, that a) teachers differ on how they react to the same passage simplified by different authors at

differing levels of linguistic challenge and b) at least a percentage of them point to some of the features that make the language of SRs less 'authentic' (e.g. 'the flow of sentences seems awkward' or 'the language is too structured', 'seems a little artificial and contrived'). With few exceptions however they value SRs as invaluable sources of support towards self-sufficiency in L2 reading.In most cases even those teachers who are conscious of the obvious insufficiencies that such materials may suffer from, ask for many more SRs not only for beginner learners of an L2 but also for those others who are often put off by the number of new words or meanings that require deciphering in unadapted books found in school libraries.

4. A related point that arises in viewing this distinction and one that has latterly assumed a more central place in second language pedagogy, is the belief that S goes against L2 materials' authenticity. There can be little doubt that bad S, which is no rare occurrence, produces poor models of writing or, at its worst, unreadable prose. That however need not be true of all SRs. As to authenticity, if it is true that what makes a piece of writing authentic is the response of its reader rather than the quality of its language, what ought to matter especially at earlier levels of L2 learning is not so much a stylist's view of the quality of an adapted text as the reader's judgment on its readability.

Two tentative inferences are possible on the basis of what we have said so far. The first is that S and its products continue to have relevance as allies to L2 pedagogy. The second is that the insights gained in recent research are proving their value by giving the practitioner an informed understanding of the strengths and limitations of this rich resource.

E. Some Current Concerns:

Research with support in several related disciplines continues to provide rich inputs to a study of S. A most noteworthy aspect of the current dialogue on the subject appears to be the raising of several fundamental questions on significant aspects of S and on its uses in L2 instruction and acquisition. Some of these are:

a. What guidelines are currently available to authors/editors of simplified materials ?

b. What use do materials developers as authors or editors make of such guidelines and how best can these as also the practices that follow in their use, be improved to reflect current thinking in relevant fields of academic study? (e.g. Lotherington, 1983, Lucas, 1992).

c. What aspects of reading - its skills or abilities - profit from SRs? At what stage can the use of such reading materials become less helpful or, at its worst, counterproductive? In what specific ways does a dependence on simplified materials harm a reader's progress into mature readership? (e.g. Brown, 1987)

d. Is it possible to make use of effective strategies of S. without allowing its less helpful aspects to come into operation? Can modifications that preserve essential meanings and yet do not reduce the need for the learner's use of fruitful learning strategies, prove to be more useful than the traditional approaches to S?

e. Of the products of PS some, for example, definition vocabulary, have been used in materials other than SRs. In what ways have they failed to prove, or even outlived, their usefulness in serving such materials? How best can these be renewed or replaced? (e.g. Sinclair, 1987, Herbst, 1990)

Alongside such questions or in answering a few of them, alternatives to S, which appear to overcome its known limitations or offer greater help to aspects of reading instruction, have also become possible. Study of S and its impact on L2 teaching and learning has thus gained in both depth and width. The answers found even where they remain no more than tentative, are relevant to the work of every language teacher and teacher educator.

F. On what:

This anthology does not claim a full coverage of the issues that arise in looking at S. It does not represent every viewpoint on even the themes discussed in it. What its thirteen specially written papers offer is a cross-section of views by people who, as researchers or practitioners, have probed one or more aspects of this proven but partially understood resource. Several unexplored aspects of the use of S in language teaching and learning receive attention as do a few that require further study.

The anthology is in four parts. Part I has three papers that define S in three domains - Pedagogy in general, SRs and Fossilization. In its three papers Part II presents alternatives to S. These are a) elaborate modification, b) naturally simplified input and c) authentic language in context. In Part III are four papers that look at S. at work in four different domains - a) conversation, b) dictionary definitions, c) student writing and d) tasks. The final part consists of three papers that look at issues that arise in making S useful in teaching and learning - S and language comprehension, S in a language classroom and S in the early teaching of ESL.

1. In his paper 'Simplification in Pedagogy' Christopher Brumfit asks whether such a powerful concept as S deserves its special status or whether in practice it is simply another way of referring to fundamental communication strategies. In analysing the strategies involved in S including selecting, making coherent and adopting to audience, he points to an inevitable tension - that between the quantity and quality of what it generates.

The processes of S, Brumfit argues, enable their user to concentrate on what is currently important. At the same time, however, they inevitably introduce irrelevant clutter of their own mainly because they demand reduction in both quantity and quality. Where the former helps to economise, the latter makes one insensitive to audience. In his view therefore although teachers must use S in order to communicate, there are inherent dangers in their doing so.

2. For H V George S is an alternative encoding of a message in which the encoder, like the originator of the message, explores the accessible forms, selects, tries out, edits and directs his effort "to reduce the communication-hindering and enhance the communication-facilitating aspect of his message encoding." In exploring its use in language pedagogy by experienced teachers and writers of simplified readers, George highlights their distinctive contribution towards bringing about learner autonomy. He explains how, in two different yet related ways, teachers and writers as simplifiers add a professional resource that offers the learner much needed 'reward experience' through indefinitely repeated access to a known set of forms. A failure to understand this, he avers, is attributable to the fact that virtually every topic in current ELT is beset by the vocabulary,and politics, of a native speaker mystique which remain at odds with professionalism.

3. In 'Fossilization as Simplification' Larry Selinker builds on his own and other scholars' findings on interlanguage and fossilization to explore some ways in which S can be seen at work in second language learning. Making use of a sizeable amount of relevant research from different parts of the world, he reiterates the importance of what he calls the "completeness issue" (see Davies, 1984a "partial knowledge") and of the related fact that IL learning often tends to cease when a learner believes that with his/her existing system s/he is able to get the intended messages across. The paper also calls for a reassessment of the issues that have latterly been raised in relating established non-native varieties (of English) to IL studies in general and the phenomenon of fossilization in particular.

4. The starting point for Michael Long and Steven Ross's paper 'Modifications that preserve language and content' is the currently growing doubt that texts that are mainly modified through linguistic S fail in important ways to serve the reader of L2 materials. After a brief enumeration of such failures and a review of recent literature on the subject, the paper reports a study of the comparative effectiveness of S and elaboration as approaches to text modification. The study conducted with 483 Japanese college students as its subjects provides sizeable, though not conclusive, evidence for the view that elaborated texts can, in important ways, serve such learners better than simplified texts. In particular: "If

the purpose of pedagogical materials ... is to provide opportunities for more effective learning strategies to be implemented, including the ability to proceas texts at a deeper level", elaborative modification may serve better than modifications in terms of linguistic S.

5. In 'Naturally Simplified input, comprehension and second language acquisition' Rod Ellis makes a distinction between input that is naturally simplified and that which is pedagogically simplified. Based on the findings of several recent studies conducted by Temple University students in Japan and a review of relevant literature, the paper examines the contribution that each type of S makes to comprehension and acquisition. The findings lend support to the view that naturally simplified input helps vocabulary acquisition much more than pedagogically simplied input. On the other hand, they neither rule out the part that pedagogically simplified input plays in second/ foreign language comprehension nor, in acquisition-poor environments where learners have very limited opportunities to experience naturally simplified input, doubt their importance as a potentially rich resource for L2 learning.

6. Goodman and Freeman in 'What's Simple in Simplified Language' make a case against the use of S which, they argue, not only makes learning harder but creates misconceptions about language. Making use of the Cumminsian hypothesis on language proficiency and of current thinking on world knowledge and learner schemata, they show how what helps the development of linguistic and academic proficiency is authentic language in context rather than S of elements or aspects of language.

7. Slade and Gardner's 'Teaching Casual Conversation: The Issue of Simplification' explores the main features that set apart casual conversation from classroom discourse of different types. It then argues a case against the currently upheld practice of using simplified, constructed conversational texts and in favour of a language teaching syllabus design and methodology which can complement each other by combining authentic conversational extracts with a methodology that engages learners in meaningful and purposeful interaction.

8. In 'Simply Defining' Alan Davies offers some insights into the challenges that face lexicographers who accept the need for S which he defines as "the pedagogic delivery of information". The paper details and signposts the main steps that a team of linguists and lexicographers took to give their product,viz. a dictionary of language testing, both professional and pedagogical viability.

9. A Chandrasegaran's 'Simplification in Student Writing' offers an alternative explanation for a problem that has been causing constant concern among teachers of advanced ESL writing, viz. that students with adequate command of the lexis and grammar often generate ineffective and unacceptable academic writing. Based on research done at the National University of Singapore, the paper relates such unsuccessful writing to a simplification of discourse structure which has its roots in a writer's incomplete mental script for conventional academic texts of the argumentative/expository type. The pedagogical implications of such a view are discussed.

10. John Honeyfield in 'Responding to Task Difficulty: what is Involved in Adjusting the Relationship between Learners and Learning Experiences?' explores the two instructional strategies - task adaptation and task sequencing - that serve to equip and enable learners to attempt language learning tasks.He also examines three models of task sequence and the factors that each exploits to facilitate learning.

11. Two basic doubts on simplified texts are addressed in Heather Lotherington-Woloszyn's paper 'Do simplified texts simplify language comprehension for ESL Learners?'. They are: 'How are these texts simplified?' and 'Does S improve text comprehensibility?' The paper discusses the two main perspectives on S, viz. that of the publisher and that of the editor of ESL materials. It then looks not only at what such S achieves but also at the ways in which it may impede comprehension or increase learner dependence on poor reading strategies.

12. 'Teaching and Learning Simplification in a Philippine Classroom' by Sibayan, Bautista and Gonzalez is a data-based study of two main types of S - pedagogical S and learning S - and also of the strategies that teachers and learners respectively adopt. Making use of transcripts of one-hour tapes of two sessions in two freshmen and sophomore classes at one of the leading universities in the Philippines, the paper presents the findings of an in-depth study of the strategies that are used in an English-medium class and a Filipino-medium class.

Although a pilot study, it not only uncovers a number of insightful features - both similarities and diferences - that characterize the interactional patterns and S strategies used in the two classes, it also demonstrates the need for many more studies towards a fuller understanding of S in different contexts,under differing teaching-learning arrangements and at different levels of language teaching and learning.

13. In 'Measuring Readiness for Simplified Material: A Test of the First 1,000 words of English' Paul Nation, having contended that the first 1,000 words of English are the essential basis for simplified teaching materials, relates the most frequent English words to more than half a century's work in word study and vocabulary teaching. The paper goes on to show how, in spite of the many problems that make it difficult to test the mastery of a limited vocabulary, the teacher and materials writer can design tests to do so. Two equivalent forms of such a test together with guidance on their pedagogic uses are provided.

The appendix to the volume is a brief discussion of S. as it occurs in various areas/aspects related to language and linguistic pedagogy. Far more tentative than any of the scholarly papers in this volume, the issues it raises may have a potential for further work on S as an aid to language pedagogy and L2 acquisition.

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M L Tickoo
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PART I

Simplification in Pedagogy
Christopher Brumfit

Simplification
H V George

Fossilization as Simplification?
Larry Selinker

SIMPLIFICATION IN PEDAGOGY

Christopher Brumfit

Broad Issues

In this paper I want to take a broad approach to the issue of simplification. I shall argue that it is a necessary process in coping with the conceptual and experiential chaos that surrounds us, but it is a potentially dangerous process too, because it risks creating categories that rapidly become too insensitive to cope with changing audiences and changing conceptual needs. Developing a capacity to distinguish between necessary simplification and necessary problematisation of accepted categories is an important aim for education.

Linguistically and conceptually, this paper is an exercise in simplification. From the range of possible approaches I am selecting a limited number which are most appropriate for my argument, ordering them in a way that will enable the reader to make sense of what I have to say as easily as possible, and expressing them in language which will be as accessible as possible to my presumed readership. And I am entitled to assume that anyone else whose work I read will have taken it through a similar process. These activities are built into the co-operative principle, and derive directly from our assumptions about the need to communicate, to persuade, to clarify and to convert.

If we look at basic manuals for teaching, we find that very similar processes are advised. A popular research-based book on "Classroom Teaching Skills", for example, includes a classification for "explanation" which mentions inter alia a series of planning strategies:

> Analyse topic into main parts, or "keys"
> Establish links between parts
> Determine rules (if any) involved
> Specify kind(s) of explanation required
> Adapt plan according to learner characteristics
> (Brown & Armstrong, 1984: 123).

At least four of these may be related to general discussion of the notion of simplification. The concept of "main parts" involves a selection and classification of significant elements, a highlighting of sub-components that organises the stream

of experience into socially constructed categories for easier comprehension. The establishment of "links" similarly attempts to reintegrate the separated elements with a clearly identified set of connecting categories, while the determination of "rules" is an attempt to impose a helpful pattern on experience. The last two elements are less obviously simplification strategies in their own right, but they shift attention from the topic to the form of presentation. The specification of the kind of explanation is perhaps a meta-activity for the teacher - a classification as a device for adopting a communication strategy. But the adaptation of the plan according to learner characteristics reflects the relationship between choices about the code and the nature of the addressee; what is being identified is a discourse strategy. (It is also of course a strategy aimed at a simplified "learner", for teachers typically address groups, not individuals, and every plan, even for an individualised classroom, presumes one or more generalised "typical learners".

Although these categories do not derive from a discussion of "simplification", there is a clear relationship between one of the central activities of teaching and the concept of simplification as described by linguists. The main purpose of this paper is to ask whether such a powerful concept as simplification deserves its special status, or whether in practice it is simply another way of referring to fundamental communication - or even thinking strategies.

Linguists and Simplicity

There are three major ideas underlying the explanation strategies isolated above. First there is the principle of selection, second that of coherence by creating "links" and "rules", and third that of adaptation to audience. Examples that may be taken from the history of applied linguistics relate to these quite closely.

To take only one example, the structure of artificial languages may reflect each of the first two characteristics, but they also deliberately sacrifice the third in the desire to avoid the cultural closeness that some supporters of world peace feel inhibits understanding. Applied linguists (whether professionals like Quirk, 1982: 37-53, or amateurs like Gowers, 1954) who concern themselves with simplification movements, will use selection procedures that depend on a view of internal linguistic coherence with the minimal number of usable elements. They thus willingly sacrifice adaptability to varied audiences in the interests of broader communication. In essence they are bidding for a large scale homogeneous audience, whether it is an appeal to "the plain man" or to "international English-users". The fact that these concepts are a simplification, or a stereotyping based on many different individuals, is precisely what makes some commentators uncertain

about their claims (see the debate between Kachru and Quirk in recent issues of English Today). Similar points may be made about classroom second language development (Ellis, 1984: 60-61), or children's L2 acquisition (Fillmore, 1979: 211). But these strategies, while universal, have immense importance when there are asymmetrical power relations, as in teaching.

Simplification as a Teaching Strategy

There is a 'lexical set' that is rarely seen as coherent, but which is of immense importance in teaching. It includes the verbs simplify, generalise, stereotype, and caricature. The first two appear together in the same section of a recent lexicon (McArthur, 1981, section N63), but caricature there is linked with features like "mockery", and stereotype does not appear at all.

If we summarise relevant Advanced Learner's Dictionary definitions of these, in the same order, we see the progression:

1. make easily understood, not causing trouble
2. make a general statement
3. fix, formalise or standardise
4. make an imitation, stressing certain features.

Processes of making general statements, of fixing and formalising, and ultimately of stressing particular features for particular effects are inherent in the simplification process, but they also have inherent risks.

Thus simplification results in a reliance on generalisation, generalisation can easily degenerate into stereotyping, and insensitive stereotyping rapidly becomes caricature, with associated implications of mockery that are offensive to victims.

The tension for the teacher is between quantity and quality. A key feature of linguistic simplification is reduction in quantity, of sentence length, of vocabulary size, of phonemic range (Ferguson, 1977). But this principle cannot be achieved without qualitative decisions being made about the generalisability of particular items. We reduce to the most salient (or functionally generalisable) elements in the discourse; otherwise we lose the overall structure and the discourse becomes incoherent. Thus making a simple statement means acting on generalisations. Linguistically, these may well become stereotyped, so that the generalised features are adopted regardless of the particular referent (so all Africans are "± black", and all nurses in British society are "± female" for many English

speakers). When ideologically convenient, such stereotypes become conventional caricatures, so that "Carry On..." films can portray nurses as inherently female and sexy, and early twentieth century children's comics could portray Africans as inherently black, different and therefore sinister. Only after substantial ideological shifts do these caricatures give way to emphasis on either what is shared with the reader (Africans or nurses are people like members of other groups - the readers of the text), or what is distinctive about individual members, or separate sub-groups, of the group being generalised about (some Africans are white; some nurses are male).

This combination of factors is a key point. Generalisations affecting people are made about outgroups; they have a distancing effect. "The British are Christians" is a simplification because non-Christian Britains feel ignored, but as a generalisation from the perspective of Iran or India it has some value. The life-style and assumptions of the British are undoubtedly Christian rather than Islamic or Hindu. We live by accepting generalisations as simplifications precisely because complexifications are inefficient until we are deeply embedded in the group being generalised about. "The British are Christians" is not a useful comment in Southampton, but may be in Meshed or Madras.

Thus processes of simplification, whether linguistic, discoursal, or conceptual, involve tacit or explicit judgements about the salience of particular features in relation to the purpose of the discourse, which in turn is responsive to the nature of the audience being addressed. We might go further, and argue that we only establish coherence of viewpoint by creating saliences and debating their appropriateness. The debate about the canon in contemporary literary theory is partly about salience - which are the "key", "emblematic", "resonant" texts for today, which encapsulate greater value for our current world view? Whether Ulysses, Tristram Shandy, or Come Dancing by Victor Sylvester is your choice (to cite various suggestions from a recent TLS debate, January 1992) depends on a view of which generalises most usefully to other matters that concern you.

What I am arguing, then, is that simplification is a process that enables us to concentrate on what is currently important and to ignore what is currently irrelevant. It prevents clutter in the mind, but risks introducing irrelevant clutter of its own. The reason for this is that generalisations are always contextually justified, and when contexts change the justification changes or disappears. Yesterday's generalisations become today's stereotypes and tomorrow's caricatures. Our capacity to process and select concepts becomes dysfunctional if it is not accompanied by a capacity to recognise changing contexts, and serious thinking requires a constant internal debate between the demands of quantity and quality.

Implications for Practice

I have suggested that the simplification debate, which might at first sight seem to be a technical one for linguists, is bound up with larger issues of comprehension and communication. Teachers of course operate with great power in both these spheres. The centrality of explanation involves them in frequent (and usually implicit) decision-making about salience and generalisability, both conceptually and linguistically. But they are also, as a profession, unusually exposed to cultural variation. Teachers, unusually, operate with many large groups of people in the course of a single working day. Their role is to communicate effectively, and to cause effective communication within these groups - and each group has to be generalised about in planning, in execution of the lesson, in making judgements for assessment purposes, and in dealing with the considerable affective demands that insecure learners make on their teachers. It is little surprise that a process of simplification and routinisation is important in general teacher thinking (see Calderhead, 1988) or in language teachers' methodological practice (Mitchell and Johnstone, 1986).

I have argued elsewhere that effective discussion of the practice of teaching requires methodological constructs that are intermediate between scientific studies that are independent of teaching and those that are embedded in classroom practice (Brumfit, 1987). I would wish to propose that an important conceptual tension for teacher education is the one explored in this paper, between simplification as quantitative reduction (or economy) and simplification as qualitative reduction (or insensitivity to audience). The latter formulation may seem a surprising way of looking at the problem, but it should be clear from the argument so far that the quality of conceptualisation is dependent on the cultural base from which the reader, listener or learner is operating. Insofar as teachers are necessarily transmitters of culture, awareness of the relationship between the conceptual frameworks of learners and those underlying all generalisations, simplifications, and explanations provided by the teaching process will be crucial. We have to simplify, both in code and in content - otherwise we cannot communicate.

But all simplification betrays somebody; no simplification betrays everybody. Teachers have to resolve this paradox in their professional practice.

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SIMPLIFICATION

H V George

Consider "simplification" as one instance of a person's speech activity: one expects it then to fulfil the functions of, and be both open to the freedoms and subject to the constraints of speech activity generally.

Speech activity comprises "inner" (quantitatively the more important) and "externalized" (spoken or written) forms.

Leaving aside activity below and at the "stream of consciousness" levels, one notes large amounts of activity never meant for externalization, much of it exploratory, meant to get its own feedback (some of it earning the name of 'thinking').

When some of this activity is externalized, the externalization itself may still have a tentative, exploratory function: people "talk to themselves" and "scribble things down", not to communicate with others but "to sort things out".

Such inner speech activity underlies speech directed to others; in the externalization of which getting feedback information from those others is, also and necessarily, a consideration.

My point is, that calling a speech activity "simplification" does not sever it from its inner speech source or from its context of general speech activity.

Whenever inner speech is directed to communication, the two functions of language operate; they are:

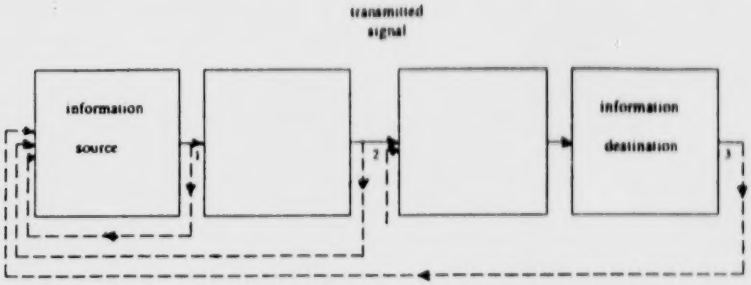
1. making communication among members of a group easy.

2. making communication across group borders difficult.

Since either function is both biological and social, it is not strange that simplification sometimes performs the second, or, still more credibly, may be thought by some observers so to do.

Communication involves (using the words of Shannon and Weaver, 1949) an "information source" and an "information destination" and consequent direction of a "message". Information may be taken to mean 'thoughts and feelings', source and destination to refer to human 'brains', and message to represent the 'encoded information'.

Considering the externalizing process at the information source, the "directing" of the message may be shown as a feedback loop, Feedback 1 below:



A second feedback loop goes from the transmitted signal (speakers and writers hear or see the forms they externalize) to the information source; it may be called "monitoring". And a (less trustworthy) feedback loop goes from the information destination to the information source.

The first feedback loop may credibly be called message "editing", the word editing implying that the externalized message forms were s e l e c t e d from among forms accessible to an encoder. Third parties may judge them to have been selected to be simple or to be complex, according to observer criteria; the message editor, however, has chosen the "most suitable accessible" forms, having in mind his wishes with respect to the message and its destination.

Of course, often the edited message originates in a previously externalized message, in which case I see the situation as like that facing a translator or interpreter, whose professional work it is to operate upon an information input to produce a directed, altered information output.

A consecutive interpreter's main task is to decode an original spoken text (in one language) and register it through a note-taking system representing the substance and logic (but not the morphology, and other redundancy) of the original. Indeed, actual consecutive interpreters' notes give clues to the nature of the inner speech underlying both the original and its subsequent externalizing in the forms of the second language. May I add incidentally, that how non-professional observers might characterize the notes is irrelevant to their function.

Translation theorist Oksaar (1978) draws attention to "contacts among subcodes" within a language, to infer that a monolingual is "a multilingual within a mother tongue". Singapore English speakers must find this statement obvious.

Other professional translators support the view. Enkvist (1978) refers to a common inner speech source (and to its nature) when he writes of "predications.. extracted out of a semantic network" comprising "atomic meanings not yet dressed up.. through lexicalization and syntax".

To summarize so far: translation from language to language and translation within one language are processes through which a person, as decoder, decontextualizes a message form-sequence through perception of its distinctive features, then, as re-encoder, accesses stored language forms (and accessory information) to recontextualize it, having in mind a specific decoder or group of decoders.

I assume no major procedural difference between every person's translating along the cline of editing from internal speech forms to those of externalized speech, every "multilingual monolingual" person's everyday translating from forms at one editing level to forms at another, a Singaporean's choice of "lect" and orthodox language-language translation.

Thus, though the words "simplification" and "simplified" give an idea of 'something done externally to a message', the "simplified" version is realistically described as alternative encoding of it, with the encoder of the alternative version doing the same things as the original encoder: exploring accessible forms, selecting, trying out, and editing; ostensibly directing effort to reduce the communication-hindering and enhance the communication-facilitating aspect of his message encoding.

In which effort, however, the encoder cannot be successful to a greater extent than the performance of the normal functions of language (including the functions of communication-inhibiting) permits.

I have laboured the point, but it is a general one. Certain linguists are fond of attributing to third person "processes" what, in fact, are first person comparisons made from an unstated viewpoint: externalized forms (even those of infant speech) are described as "reduced", "abbreviated", "truncated", "shortened", "over (!)-generalized", "over-elaborated". More transparent are "non-native-like", "non-authentic", with the "model" comparison forms now openly assumed. The conservative negativism of the terminology and underlying attitude should not have entered discussion of simplification through, largely irrelevant, observer comparison of "original" and "simplified" versions.

Seen as directed editing of forms for persons who know only some of the forms an original encoder or a translator of the original encoder could have used, the "directing" aspect may be termed "pedagogic", and the "directed", formal aspect "linguistic"; but I do not know that the distinction is useful. As I see it, "pedagogic" describes a particular encoder-decoder relation, certainly one that influences the editing, but not in a manner differing from that of any other encoder-decoder relation; while the editing is necessarily the editing of forms. What I am trying to stress is the inescapable normality within the editing process of the particular process called "simplification".

However, normality does not mean that the skill of successful editing (of any kind) can be taken for granted.

I now describe a witnessed classroom occurrence. A teacher had to deal with a text sentence: His family became an obstacle in his path to enlightenment. "You know obstacle? No? Obstacle is.. hindrance.. (no class reaction..), is barrier, no? (frustrated).. obstruction.. impediment.. (has done his best; gives up) Let's go on."

The unsophisticated teacher's vocabulary is extensive, and his associational "catenation" or "sequencing" of near synonyms follows, one guesses, the order of his own acquisition of the words. Assuming that the message had some consequence, the learners needed editing to be in the reverse direction, that which a trained, or more experienced, teacher would take. A colleague who had a "defining vocabulary" as an element in a "little language", habitually used, would think of something in his way something which stopped him going where he wanted to go. And she would gesture the 'stopping'.

I should stress that both colleagues decontextualize text, explore stored vocabulary fields, edit and recontextualize messages directed to information destinations. They use a common resource, to the extent they share accessible vocabulary. The second teacher adds a professional resource.

However, the illustrated "defining" or "simplifying" function too is traditionally seen in the more general context of learner experience. It is probable that the efficiency-seeking learner brains of students in either class would "forget" the word obstacle. However, whereas the time and attention of the students in the first class were squandered on further unintelligible forms, the students in the second experienced the gratification of repeated opportunity to access forms already learned.

Thus, it is a minor consideration whether "simplification results in easier learning"; or even in "easier comprehension". These would be small gains compared with the sustained positive effect of a teacher's ability to give learners indefinitely repeated access to a known set of forms.

Nor, as I understand, were pioneers of the "Simplified" or (West's name) "Plateau" Readers in doubt about this, their main pedagogic intent. The merit was in the vocabulary control itself, not directly in the simplification thereby entailed.

Technically, the control provides learners with a favourable "density index", (the index showing the relative "crowding" of the different words within the total number of words). A typical Plateau Reader provided an index of 1 : 20, by comparison with the 1 : 6 of uncontrolled text. The number of words making a single appearance in the text (about h a l f of the different words in an uncontrolled text) is correspondingly reduced, and the whole nature of learner experience altered. It is through these shifts that the Plateau Readers were meant, from the language viewpoint, to engage students in a reward, not a learning, experience.

Density index shifts are also a normal feature of the presence of any simple field existing within a more complex one. I would like to suggest that the small field is usually autonomous.

Salling (1952) said that an infant's (observed) 20-word vocabulary is misinterpreted as a "stage on the way to" an eventual vocabulary. It is, he said, a complete vocabulary representing the total infant perception of those of its needs expressible in words. If one represents the vocabulary as a circle, each word stands for one of the segments; repeated access to which must be a factor in the infant's "shaping" and establishment of the forms. When an infant becomes aware of a

distinction within a segment, and of the existence of words to represent the now distinct concepts, the vocabulary expands, so to say, from internal resources.

The "little language" idea has other expressions: through word frequency counts: with Basic English, through an analytical procedure; with "minimum-difficulty pronouncing vocabularies", through language-language comparison. From various standpoints, all are learner centred, seeking to give (a) maximum return for minimum learner effort (b) speedy learner autonomy. These are little language priorities; in which respect it is idle to use the word "restricted" or "restricting", or "inadequate" or "non-authentic" - the words betray their author's conscious or sub-conscious presumption to status and the habit of making status-derived comparisons.

However, virtually every topic in current ELT is beset by the vocabulary, and politics, of a native speaker status mystique; and professionalism, e.g. that of vocabulary control, and the mystique are often at odds.

The proper domain of the mystique is that of native English speaking countries, preoccupied (a) with inducting immigrants and (b) with their new "industry" of selling "English" to overseas students. For both activities, large numbers of sudden experts are needed. Thus the renewal, in those countries, of the 1890s doctrines of the intrinsic virtue of native speaker teachers to provide a "natural way" to learning, and the intrinsic capacity of learners to "pick up" the language from "authentic" experience.

The rest of the world still needs a degree of professionalism. Professionals are aware of learner "thresholds", of perception, attention, registration, establishment, and autonomy of use; aware too, of the fact that, to cross them, most learners need the sustained experience which, as professionals, they organize. Skill in use of a "little language" that includes a defining vocabulary, is, I would say, a critical factor in learner autonomy.

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FOSSILIZATION AS SIMPLIFICATION?

Larry Selinker

I was pleased to accept this invitation from Professor Tickoo to try to make some sense of the vast fossilization literature from the point of view of simplification, for the task is long overdue. In truth, this task has proven difficult[1] since, on the one hand, little appears that summarizes the fossilization literature from any point of view, and, on the hand, the fossilization literature is widespread and diffuse. How is one to select from this literature for typicality? What criteria should one use? Most references to fossilization one sees, and there are literally hundreds, are of the type:

> "This structure, I (we) conclude, is a good candidate for fossilization, because .....".

That is, one rarely sees an attempt to link the particular conclusion presented with other potential fossilization events which have been discussed in the literature. As Kellerman (1989) points out, even where there are attempts at explanation, "they do not lead to predictions about what linguistic features of the interlanguage are candidates for fossilization". He reminds us of the dire straits of things in this area when he concludes that:

> There has been virtually no discussion as to why certain 'accents' may come to typify a whole community of language learners irrespective of differing proficiency levels within that community.
>
> (Kellerman 1989, 88)

It turns out, then, that there are very few general principles which have been proposed to cover fossilization. This essay is an attempt to push the notion fossilization in terms of one such concept: simplification - - which was first brought up in Selinker (1972) - - knowing full well that any one unitary explanation will fail, but maybe we can clear the collective air a bit.

In the invitation to the volume, Prof Tickoo points out that only one type of simplification is linguistic, and that there are others: pedagogic, psycholinguistic, and perhaps even others. I am sure that what I see most often described in the literature can be termed "linguistic simplification". I see no way to unambiguously define this concept, but what I mean can be gleaned, perhaps, from

an example by Schachter (1988, 1990). She believes that one of the key issues for second language acquisition (SLA) theory is that of "completeness", that non-native grammars, no matters how target like, will be incomplete in interesting ways[2].

For example, Schachter concludes that cleft structures in English, even when known by non-native speakers (NNSs), are used less frequently by them than by native speakers (NSs), which matches my perception. That is, learners and other interlanguage (IL) speakers overuse structure (1a), even when the discourse calls for structures of type (1b):

1a. I painted the house yesterday.

1b. What I did was paint the house yesterday.
It was the house that I painted yesterday.

Or, in more academic language, consider (1c) vs. (1d) where it is my experience that concerning various types of cleft sentences, NNSs rarely have a clue.

1c. Corder consistently emphasized that IL is "normally unstable" (e.g. 1981, 16). Now, Klein (1984), in my view, provides the most important conceptual link between fossilization and simplification.

1d. What Corder did consistently was to emphasize that IL is "normally unstable" (e.g. 1981, 16). Now it is Klein (1984) who, in my view, provides the most important conceptual link between fossilization and simplification.

[Sentences in (1d) actually appear in the paper below and the reader might wish to compare the illocutionary force of (1d) to (1c) in each case.]

Schachter's explanation for the overuse of structures in (1a) and (1c) is interesting here: structures of type (1a) and (1c) are more frequent among NNSs because they are of the more simple canonical word order: subject-verb-object (SVO) than are those of (1b) and (1d). That is structures of type (1b) and (1d), by any measure, are linguistically more complex.

In the document referred to above, Tickoo goes on to point out that in linguistic simplification one is interested in:

> ... events or developments in which the primary focus of attention has been language - its systems, structures or discourse.

Now, I would contend that, with the help of the dictionary, the concept fossilization is clear (though of course which IL samples are exemplars is up for grabs): the unabridged Random House Dictionary of the English Language (1987) has kindly defined fossilization for us under "fossilize":

> Ling. (of a linguistic form, feature, rule, etc.) to become permanently established in the interlanguage of a second-language learner in a form that is deviant from the target-language norm and that continues to appear in performance regardless of further exposure to the target language. (p. 755)

There are several important points to be made here: first, it is clear that learner-created permanent IL plateaus, often far from the target language, is the norm in SLA. Second, it appears to be the case, that fossilized ILs exist no matter what learners do in terms of further exposure to the TL[3]. Third, given the latter, at any point in time it is nonetheless very difficult, if not impossible, to tell, at a particular point in time, if a learner's stabilized IL is in fact fossilized. Thus, it is common in SLA discussion to distinguish theoretically "permanent fossilization" from "temporary stabilization" of the IL. Fourth, it is generally agreed (cf. Larsen-Freeman & Long, 1991) that the most reasonable empirical way of studying fossilization is to look longitudinally for what remains in IL speech (or writing) over time. Finally, a solid theoretical explanation of such permanent plateaus is at present lacking. Now, to simplification.

Corder (1981) produced a truism that one cannot simplify what one does not know and argued that SLA is primarily an example of linguistic complexification, that 'simple codes' do not necessarily mean simplification has occurred. This is insightful, but as I have argued elsewhere (Selinker, 1984) the argument is too general. I would like to claim that learners, sometimes, and maybe quite consciously, simplify target language (TL) information and that could perhaps lead to fossilization. There are many examples in the literature as, for example, the French immersion learners who use one form of the verb for the whole paradigm. This also happens in clearly fossilized West African French adult IL so that it may be a general strategy.

It may also be the case that observed "careful" learners "...often make use of only those aspects or features of morphology or syntax which (they are) sure of at the time of writing" (Tickoo, op sit). If so, this may also turn out to be a type of simplification, and that it extends to oral production in some domains, perhaps formal ones. Now it is Klein (1984) who, in my view, provides the most important conceptual link between fossilization and simplification. Klein takes an ecological approach and makes a good case for fossilization as beneficial to learners if the

"freezing" does not take place too early, because (a) fossilized systems are often simple, and (b) therefore, they are more easily learnable systems (interestingly moving the argument from linguistic simplification to psycholinguistic simplification), and (c) one can do many things with these limited means (for further discussion, see Selinker, 1992, 252 and passim.)

In order to study fossilization with this perspective in mind, we must have a vision of various research approaches that could be taken in principle concerning topics such as the objects of possible fossilization, the onset and persistence of stabilized forms, and age variables, all of which are worthy of consideration. Longitudinally-gathered data from second language learners should be carefully examined to see which aspects become stabilized over time. Related issues such as nativization and contextualization of new non-native varieties need to be discussed. Stabilized local varieties, e.g. Navajo-English or Filipino-English, must also be considered. We need an open mind about fossilization, especially the strong claims about "inevitability" and genetic matters.

Selinker & Lamendella (1978, Table 2) provided a sketch of fundamental "Research Problem Areas"[4] which it may be useful to review here. The first area covered is the NATURE of fossilization. By this, it was meant to investigate whether fossilization is a phenomenon peculiar to SLA or a more general cognitive condition, relevant to other types of learning. One unresolved problem in this dimension is whether fossilization is a positive process of halting further IL development in the ecological way suggested above or is the absence or loss of some abilities, which would surely involve cognitive simplification. The second research area involves the SOURCE of fossilization. Is the basic explanatory domain in terms of which fossilization can be described, that of factors external to the individual learners or factors internal to the individual? Another possibility which we should now have tools to discuss, is that of external factors which may be filtered through the current information processing systems of the individual.

A third research area involves the OBJECTS of fossilization. Which aspects of a learner's IL are susceptible to fossilization? Are they single surface items? Particular rules? Subsystems? Might the linguistic objects involve new combinations of grammatical items that are not usually linked in the comparative NL theoretical linguistics that we have now? That is, would we come up with novel linguistic units that would be fossilized in a new comparative IL theoretical linguistics? Is it the case that some linguistic features are more susceptible to premature stabilization than others? In particular, are phonological units especially liable to fossilize? There is an issue of correctness here for it may be reasonable, at times, to view features which are "incorrect" relative to the TL as more susceptible

to fossilization, thereby invoking an early Corder (1967) idea of "errors as a learning strategy". In terms of interaction, can units of communicative competence fossilize independently of the linguistic form of the IL? It seems likely that linguistic forms can fossilize independently of communicative competence and here we may have made some serious progress; see, for example, Selinker and Lakshmanan (In Press) where some suggested fossilizable structures from the literature are presented: e.g. empty categories and tenseless clauses.

A fourth area of potential research involves the MANNER of fossilization and here we can ask if there are particular sequences in which given linguistic features fossilize and if any of these sequences are universal vs. language specific vs. IL specific vs. learner specific? Or, if, in FLL in classrooms, fossilization would occur differentially from SLA in naturalistic settings? Also, in this area of research, we would want to know if fossilization is an abrupt event or a gradual process occurring over a span of weeks, months, or years. We would also want to know here if it is indeed possible (as Selinker and Douglas (1985, 1989) have claimed) that fossilization can occur by discourse domain, where in one domain a structure is fossilized whereas in another, it is still developing.

A fifth area is that of the POINT at which fossilization begins. When, along the learning process, will fossilization "set in" for a given aspect of the learner's IL? Is there any absolute "lower bound" on which fossilization could possibly occur? Is there an absolute "upper bound" by which fossilization necessarily occurs, or does the learner's IL continue to be indefinitely permeable?

A sixth area involves the PERSISTENCE of stabilization. Can it be determined for a given learner whether IL stabilization is merely a temporary plateau or a permanent condition? Is it possible for a person to "de-fossilize" at some point and, if so, under what conditions, internal/external to the learner? Here one would want to ask, if the general conditions of the learner change drastically, does it matter how long the learner had remained fossilized. Would age matter here?

A final area of research involves CANDIDATES for fossilization: which types of learners may be identified in advance as likely candidates for premature fossilization at some great distance from TL norms? Specifically, why do some adults fossilize at a greater distance from TL norms than do others? In terms of child L2 acquisition, is it reasonable to conclude that some children fossilize while others do not?

Now, in order to adequately discuss these possibilities in a large literature, one would need more than the space provided in this essay. The next best thing would be to "walk the reader through" a very few representative works on the topic, hoping that the list is indeed representative. Here we will make a start.

First, an area where several of the above overlap, involves, the important debate on TERMINAL 2's AND COMMUNICATIVE VS. GRAMMATICAL TEACHING. Higgs & Clifford (1982), coining the term based on the 1 to 5 scale of the Foreign Service Institute, claimed that grammatical accuracy must be stressed based on their observations of FSI students who had first learned their foreign language "in the streets" and were apparently stuck at a low level of grammatical achievement. In our terms used here, the terminal 2's seemed satisfied with a simpler grammar than that of the TL. There has been a lot of argument about the facts here and its relation to SLA vs. FLL. Terrell (1989) wrote a response since he said that, everywhere he went, people brought up the terminal 2 conclusion of Higgs and Clifford as an argument against the natural approach and the emphasis on comprehensible input. Terrell pointed out the difference in data types between FSI students and those in an undergraduate American University and, importantly, that one could fossilize at the 2, 3, or even 4 levels. Terrell saw the role of grammar as part of complexification, where attention of the learner was focussed on particular elements in the input, and reinforced by the textbook, with the claim being that, with the natural approach, such elements would be acquired more readily.

A second area, which we will too briefly consider, is that of TORONTO FRENCH IMMERSION. Data from immersion programs are interesting because what they involve are children who appear to create ILs under certain sociolinguistic conditions. From the large literature on this subject, Harley & Swain (1984) is a particularly useful paper for in it, they cite detailed empirical work. For example, concerning possible objects of fossilization, they produce an important simplification example of the inappropriate equating by learners of English personal pronoun ('I') with French personal pronoun PLUS auxiliary ('j'ai'). They relate this result to multiple effects, citing language transfer and salience in the input as two effects working in tandem to produce interlingual identifications. They accept the possible reality of fossilization, but interestingly cite a lack of "positive evidence" to date.

The next area involves FOSSILIZATION AND LEARNING STRATEGIES. Sims (1989) is a Ph. D. exam paper and incomplete though this may be as an argument, there is an interesting positing here of a continuum of fossilization, from "soft" to "hard" and that simplifying learning strategies may play a crucial role, in establishing where on this continuum, a learner may end up. Sims

is the first, to my knowledge, to write of this potentially important connection, and, as far as I know, it has not been taken up in the literature.

Mukkatash (1986) considers the possibility that EVEN WITH "SYSTEMATIC ERROR CORRECTION AND EXPLICIT GRAMMATICAL EXPLANATION", fossilization persists. In the context of a teaching situation in Jordan, he looks at Arabic-English IL from an error analysis point of view and considers several possible objects of fossilization. One clear example of simplification in his data is what he calls "BE-deletion" in the context where BE is taught and where errors are systematically corrected. If the rules are known, this must be a case of simplification where "deletion" from what is known is involved. He considers such IL sentences as:

2a. CA predicts errors that X only right or materialize.

2b. The government X trying to make easy life for everyone.

(X is here "used to indicate the position of the deleted elements")

Note these are two different linguistic contexts and it is claimed that we have a case here of contextual conditioning. For the source of the deletion, these sentences are related to "facts of Arabic" where such deletion is the norm. This fits into the MEP perspective mentioned above, where with language transfer being one effect, this will help stabilize the IL and this is discussed in Selinker and Lakshmanan (In Press).

In a different teaching situation, composition teaching in New York City, Yorio (1985) claimed that in the written ILs dealt with, fossilization "has become the most pressing issue that I have to face" (emphasis in the original). He explores the nature of fossilization, looking at composition data of urban U.S. learners to try to gain insights for teaching and comes up with a memorable phrase: "a student should be considered stabilized until proven fossilized". He presents data where a learner's "control of grammar fails him" and, interestingly, much of the data as in the previous example, seems to involve simplified deleted forms, such as:

3a. for short time
I used make a year book

in Korean-English. This case is more complex because it is clearly variable:

3b. in a row
I used to have a dog.

Yorio reviews the fossilization literature and finds it lacking in useful principles, which is one of the main points of this essay.

Now we briefly consider EUROPEAN ENGLISH, which is being more and more described as a dialect(s) in its own right. Could it be that, as large parts of Europe become more and more like one country, that English is taking on the sort of status that it has taken for India or Nigeria, removing the political need to choose which of the local languages should be the "national" language for specific, but important purposes? If this is indeed the case, then we can expect, just as we find Indianized features, we will see Europeanized features in the English(es) involved. From the point of view of nativization (see below), Berns (1988) provides a sociolinguistic description of the status of "a German variety of English", where English may be "more akin to second language for many Germans who use English every day" in interpersonal uses with other Europeans and/or American military forces.

From the point of view of SLA, Sharwood Smith (1989) looks at persistence in Dutch-English of certain verb complementation structures in spite of a large amount of exposure to English. He considers things that regularly "go wrong" with advanced learners of English in the verb complementation area with, for example, the overgeneralization of for/to infinitives. Kellerman (1989) looks at fossilization, also by Dutch speakers of English, of the imperfect conditional despite a "high level of linguistic achievement". Kellerman studies the use of "would" by Dutch speakers, as in:

4. If it would rain, they would cancel the concert in Damrosch Park.

His studies are interesting in this regard, as they clearly involve the MEP. We have reanalyzed his results elsewhere (Selinker and Lakshmanan, In Press) and see his results as occurring because of three effects: NL avoidance, symmetry of structure and what we call "affect", for lack of a better word, i.e. the NNS trying to make the TL "better" or "more precise", an effect we see occurring with advanced IL speakers in most if not all IL situations.

In general, it is important to consider clearly established NON-NATIVE VARIETIES (NNV's) AND THE NATIVIZATION/ FOSSILIZATION DEBATE. In numerous publications, Kachru has taken a strong anti-fossilization position. For example, in a (1988) statement, he produces: "Fallacy IV: The international non-native varieties of English are essentially 'interlanguages' striving to achieve 'native-like' character". It is interesting to quote the relevant paragraph in full:

> This hypothesis has several limitations as has been shown by Sridhar and Sridhar (1986) and Nelson (1988). Whatever the validity of this hypothesis in second language acquisition in general, its application to the institutionalized varieties of English in the Outer Circle (i.e. of his linguistic-cultural continuum) needs reevaluation.
>
> (Kachru, 1988, 4)

We need to be careful here and ask ourselves, first, why colleagues at times appear emotional about this topic. Empirically, are we dealing with different phenomena in the above quote or different labels for the same phenomena? Or, in some way, can both be true at times? We surely want to avoid the pejorative implication that using SLA concepts necessarily implies "deficient versions of some NS (Native Speaker) standard" (as Williams puts it), though we must not avoid the theoretically important "completeness" issue (See below).

The issue of the relationship of these varieties to IL is directly faced by several authors. Davies (1989), for example, uniquely makes a connection between "two major developments in applied linguistics and language-teaching studies in recent years", the institutionalized varieties and interlanguage. He sees both as "necessary approaches" with the former often "simplified in some way" and the latter an account of individual variation. Williams (1987), uses the term "non-native institutionalized varieties of English" (NIVEs) and looks carefully at Singapore-English data and concludes that NIVEs are "an important and growing acquisitional phenomenon", thus linking two important ideas: language use and acquisition, which appear to me to be lacking in the Kachru approach above. Usefully Williams notes that there actually are different uses of the term "nativization", which leads to confusion of the underlying issues involved and interested readers are urged to work these distinctions out for themselves carefully.

Zuengler (1989), using (NNV's), is perhaps the strongest detailing of the issues, looking at data concerning the important socio-psychological concept of "identity". She carefully considers the important concept of the "overall target" of learners and concludes that "many IL speakers do, indeed, have target model alternatives". That is, Zuengler usefully concludes that the learner's final outcome (as fossilized?):

> ...is not merely a reflection of the input he is most frequently exposed to, but is the result of a selection of model by the learner. (Zuengler, 1989. 82; emphasis in the original)

As I read Zuengler, personal identity relates to final IL outputs as simplified, but again, the interested reader is urged to go to the original sources to work out the complicated suggestions. Important to the above debate, she argues against the assertion made by Kachru and others that "language learning in IL settings and non-native variety settings is fundamentally different", going carefully through the different arguments and rejecting each one.

Not usually involved in this debate are questions of: does FOSSILIZATION occur IN AN "EMERGING ETHNIC SOCIAL DIALECT"? AND WITH PREADOLESCENTS? MacDonald (1988) answers empirically "yes" to both questions in her study of the English of second generation Cubans in Little Havana in Miami.

Perhaps this debate should be related more carefully to the important issue of EVIDENCE FOR SYNTACTIC FOSSILIZATION. Besides the bits and pieces found throughout the SLA literature, we have with Apte's (1988) work an attempt to "trace and describe" grammatical fossilization, one of the first such detailed attempts in the literature. Although he discusses one of the uses of nativization in the literature and his data is Indian-English, he couches his argument primarily in SLA terms. There is some nice material here on learning strategies discovered through secondary data/ retrospective interviews.

The previous issue is of course linked to the much discussed relationship of UNIVERSAL GRAMMAR (UG) AND SLA. Schachter (1990) looks at fossilization from the point of view of the "completeness" issue. Can non-native speakers have "complete" grammars? (She answers "no".) Schachter's study involves a careful investigation of one parameter (the UG principle of subjacency) in three groups located in a continuum where NLs differ with regard to the parameter in interesting ways: Korean "showing no evidence of it" and Chinese and Indonesian "showing partial evidence of it". She uses as a comparison group Dutch which "shows the full range of subjacency effects that English does". This constraint involves "movement rules", where (5a) is grammatical while (5b) is not, due to what are known as "islands"[5]:

5a. What did Sue destroy?

5b. *What did Sue destroy a book about?

The results show that all groups correctly judged the grammatical sentences which contained islands, but only the Dutch group correctly judged the ungrammatical sentences which contained subjacency violations. Thus, each group used the subjacency information, if available in their NL.

To me, Schachter provides a language transfer simplification conclusion as to why simplified and fossilized incomplete grammars are a necessary outcome of IL learning:

> It would appear that the learner has only the input and knowledge of the native language as guides in figuring out the structure of the target language.

As with the MEP above, language transfer is an essential factor. Other variables such as age of first exposure to the target language, number of years of target language study and number of months in the target language country were shown to have no effect.

To conclude, as is often the case in this field, we return for wisdom to the important collection of Corder's papers (Corder, 1981; cf. discussion in Selinker, 1992, especially, chapter 6). What Corder did consistently was to emphasize that IL is "normally unstable" (e.g. 1981, 16), and to provide a conclusion as to why this should be the case. When a learner is not understood, he or she "has a motive to bring his behaviour into line with conventions of some social group, if he is able". This is an important idea and one that is widely accepted. This means that IL learning will cease when learners believe that they are able to get intended messages across with the IL system they have. There is then the interesting idea that learners "may not be able" to match the norms of a target social group which brings up important questions of "inevitability" and "innateness" of fossilization. In the Corder Festschrift referred to above, it was mentioned that "Among fossilized Francophones in Canada, there is no English plural for generations", which brings us back clearly to fossilization as simplification linked with language transfer. But careful discussion of this will have to await another occasion and is taken up in Selinker and Lakshmanan (In Press). There we propose that the multiple effects principle provides a partial explanation to the problem of plateaus in SLA and that the literature is clear in suggesting that, concerning various possible SLA factors, language transfer is a central one. This paper suggests that simplification is as well.

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Notes

1. During the final preparation of this essay, I was most fortunate to be a Gastprofessor at Universitäet Kassel and wish to thank Prof Dr Hans Dechert of Kassel and the Fulbright-Kommission in Bonn for making my visit possible. I also wish to thank the Kassel students in my SLA theory seminar for their insightful comments on some of this material.

While preparing this essay, then, it turns out that I was rethinking SLA concepts while in the process of creating a German IL. I mean that I was seriously rethinking concepts such as those that appear in this essay, as well as other much debated concepts such as "comprehensible input", but this time in terms of variables in my input, such as "fast speech rules" vs. more morphologically-based speech as it was daily varying in the input. It is a sobering experience.

For what it is worth, in terms of "internal-IL transfer", my diary is full of examples of transfer happening from my written IL to various oral domains, such as some discussed in this essay. I also had the unpleasant realization that many of my SLA and language teaching colleagues are regularly not in the process of learning an L2. It is an open secret that many colleagues in the States have never learned an L2. But, I also realized that most of the rest, even if they have in the past learned an L2, it was years ago, and that they are not presently struggling with all those "learner problems" we write about. I found myself thinking such thoughts as I was reading for this essay all those hyper-neat conclusions in the literature(only a few of which have made their way into this essay), including, of course, much of my own work in the past.

2. A similar point is made by Davies (1984) in the introduction to the Corder Festschrift, when he discusses IL in terms of "partial knowledge".

3. This of course involves "Orwell's Problem", first brought to the attention of the SLA world by Hale (1988). Hale points out that there is in SLA an element of what Chomsky, in political debate, has referred to as Orwell's problem, basically the opposite of the much studied Plato's problem of how we know so much, given the paucity of input. Orwell's problem relates to the question why we know so little despite so much evidence. Hale specifically raises the following in the context of SLA: Why, where it is so, does a marked parameter setting persist in the grammar of a fluent L2 learner despite ample evidence for the unmarked setting in the input. See Selinker and Lakshmanan (In Press), where we propose the "multiple effects principle" (MEP) as a partial answer to Orwell's problem as it applies to the SLA context. The MEP discusses cases where two or more SLA factors work in tandem, and where, it is claimed, there is a greater chance of stabilization of IL forms leading to possible fossilization.

4. From a research methodology point of view, it is important to emphasize that "Research Problem Areas" are not the same animal as "Research Questions". The latter involve precise questions which can, in principle at least, be answered in an empirical study.

5. Technically, 5a is analyzed as:

What [did Sue destroy t]
S

and 5b as:

*What [did Sue destroy [a book about t]]
S NP

PART II

Modifications that Preserve Language and Content
Michael H Long and Steven Ross

Naturally Simplified Input, Comprehension and Second Language Acquisition
Rod Ellis

What's Simple in Simplified Language?
Kenneth S Goodman and David Freeman

MODIFICATIONS THAT PRESERVE LANGUAGE AND CONTENT

Michael H Long and Steven Ross

Abstract

An optimal procedure for modifying spoken or written texts for non-native speakers would be one that improves their comprehensibility without (a) removing new linguistic forms which students need to learn from the input, or (b) diluting the semantic content of the original. Linguistic simplification, the traditional approach to text modification, fails on both counts and often produces unnatural target language models. A review of research and the results of a new study show that elaborative modification provides a viable alternative which suffers from neither limitation.

Approaches to Text Modification

Despite increasing doubts as to its effectiveness in aiding comprehension or language learning, linguistic simplification remains the dominant approach to text modification in commercially published reading materials for second and foreign language (L2) learners. Spoken or written texts originally intended for native speakers are rewritten in shorter, simpler sentences that avoid idiomatic expressions, complex syntax and low frequency vocabulary items. In principle, at least, an informal conversation among friends, the report of a scientific experiment, a high school social studies text book, a political speech, a short story by Orwell or a Shakespeare play can all be reduced in complexity to a point at which they become intelligible to false beginners. In a common variant of the process used by several ESL publishers, (re)writers not only remove complex language in the ways indicated, but also contrive to have the simplified versions utilize only pre-specified structures and verb tenses and a particular list of (say) 800 words.

The products of linguistic simplification - basal readers for children and 'structural', or 'graded', readers for adults - present learners with target language models that tend to be stilted and which are always unnatural in another sense, since native speakers do not control their speech or writing linguistically in this systematic way, even when communicating with young children or non-native

speakers, although they do, of course, make other kinds of modifications. Further, research has shown that while linguistically simplified passages are generally easier to understand overall, shorter sentences are not necessarily easier if users of longer ones maintain clear references to unfamiliar concepts, remove pronouns with unclear antecedents, delete irrelevant details in distracting phrases, and highlight important points through pausing, stress, topicalization and other devices (Davison, Wilson and Hermon, 1985; Beck, McKeown, Omanson and Pople, 1984; Anderson and Davison, 1988; Davison and Green, 1988).

An additional serious limitation of linguistically simplified texts concerns their decreased value for language learning (as opposed to comprehension). Removal of unknown linguistic forms inevitably denies learners access to the very items they need to learn. The purpose of most reading lessons, after all, is not the comprehension of a particular text, but the learning of the language in which the text is written and the development of transferable reading skills.

An alternative approach to adjusting spoken or written input for foreign or second language learners, elaborative modification, builds on research findings in a range of languages on the adjustments native speakers make to facilitate non-native comprehension in non-instructional talk (for review, see Long, 1983a; Larsen-Freeman and Long, 1991). The adjustments are of two kinds: linguistic and conversational.

Linguistic adjustments can occur in all domains and affect the forms learners hear (or read). Where phonology is concerned, NSs addressing NNSs use a slower rate of delivery, more careful articulation, stress of key words and pauses before and after them, more full forms and fewer contractions. Morphological and syntactic changes include use of fewer words and clauses per utterance, preference for canonical word order, retention of usually deleted optional constituents, overt marking of grammatical relations, and higher frequencies of questions of certain types. In the semantic domain, researchers find more overt marking of semantic relations, a lower type-token ratio and fewer idiomatic expressions (occasionally resulting in marked uses of lexical items, such as to have money, rather than to earn money), and fewer opaque forms, e.g. a preference for full NPs over pronouns and concrete over dummy verbs, like do.

Conversational adjustments affect both the content and interactional structure of foreigner talk discourse. Where content is concerned, conversation with NNSs tends to have more of a here-and-now orientation, to treat a more predictable, narrower range of topics and to do so more briefly, e.g. by dealing with fewer information bits and by maintaining a lower ratio of topic-initiating to topic-

continuing moves. The interactional structure of NS-NNS conversation is marked by more abrupt topic-shifts, more use of questions for topic-initiating moves, more repetition of various kinds (including semantic repetition, or paraphrase), and a higher frequency of comprehension checks, confirmation checks, clarification requests, expansions, question-and-answer strings and decomposition.

Conversational adjustments are more frequent and pervasive than linguistic adjustments and sometimes occur when the latter do not (Long, 1980, 1983b), the opposite state of affairs to that prevailing in language teaching materials. The effect of conversational adjustments is to elaborate the input, maintaining much of the original (baseline NS) complexity in both lexis and syntax, but compensating for this by clarifying message content and structure, e.g. through greater topic saliency and use of topic-comment, rather than subject-predicate constructions, and by adding redundancy, e.g. through the use of repetition, paraphrase and the retention of full noun phrases that would be unnecessary for a competent NS reader.

As an example of each approach, simplification and elaboration, consider 1 - 3 below from Ross, Long and Yano (1991).

(1) NS baseline version

Because he had to work at night to support his family, Paco often fell asleep in class.

(2) Simplified version

Paco had to make money for his family. Paco worked at night. He often went to sleep in class.

(3) Elaborated version

Paco had to work at night to earn money to support his family, so he often fell asleep in class next day during his teacher's lesson.

To produce (3), the first clause in the original has been promoted from subordinate to main clause, Paco has been fronted in order to facilitate early identification of the topic, to earn money has been added to help indicate the meaning of support, next day added to help confirm the temporal/causal relationship between the night work and Paco's tiredness, and during his teacher's lesson added to clarify in class. For readers of lower L2 proficiency, Paco might be repeated in the subordinate clause in place of the pronoun he. While rather "wordy", (3), we would claim, sounds more

like a natural sample of spoken or written English, and therefore provides a more useful language learning model, than (2). This is the typical result of elaborative modification, and compares favorably with the choppy, stilted version produced by linguistic simplification.

Equally typical consequences of the two approaches to text modification are the greater length, syntactic and lexical complexity of elaborated texts, compared with simplified ones, and, as is the case here, sometimes even compared with the baseline NS versions. The NS version, (1), is a single sentence containing 17 words, two clauses and four s-nodes. The simplified version, (2), has three sentences, 19 words and five s-nodes. The elaborated version, (3), is a single sentence containing 26 words and five s-nodes. Thus, (on the basis of these tiny text fragments) the average numbers of words (6.33) and s-nodes (1.66) per sentence in the simplified version are both much lower than in the other two. The average numbers of words (26) and s-nodes (5) per sentence in the elaborated version are higher than those (17 and 4) in the NS baseline version. The elaborated version also retains the original lexical items and their collocations, support (his family) and fell asleep, from the NS version, and provides an additional native-like model, earn money, in the course of paraphrasing support. The simplified version removes support and fell asleep from the input, substitutes the (in these contexts) slightly marked usages, make money and went to sleep, and models nothing else that was not in the original version. These patterns of difference among the three text types prevailed in the study to be reported below.

Previous Research on Simplification and Elaboration

There had been 16 studies of the effects of simplification and elaboration on foreign or second language text comprehension when the study reported here was conducted, 11 of listening and five of reading comprehension (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Studies of the effect of input modification on non-native speaker comprehension (from Ross, et al, 1991)

Study	Text/modification types	level/n	measure	results
	LISTENING COMPREHENSION STUDIES			
Cervantes 1983	A. NS text B. Repeated text	university ESL n=16	dictation	B>A
Long 1985 2 studies	A. NS text B. FT version less complex (1.68 vs. 1.94 s/TU) slower rate (128 vs. 139 wpm) rephrasings	university ESL n=34 n=106	m. choice while listening	B>A p* B>A
Kelch 1985	A. NS text (191 wpm) B. Slower rate (124 wpm) C. FT version (200 wpm + repetition) D. FT version + slower rate (140 wpm + repetition)	university ESL n=26	dictation exact wd. scoring equiv. meaning scoring	B,D>A,C B,D>A,C D>C p* B,D>A,C
Speidel, Tharp & Kobayashi 1985	A. Complex syntax B. Simple syntax	2nd grade SE & HCE n=120	m. choice after listening	n.s.
Mannon 1986	A. Live lecture to NSs, (123 wpm, 1.99 s/TU, 16 repetitions) B. Live lecture to NNSs, (112 wpm, 1.72 s/TU, 28 repetitions)	university ESL n=28	m. choice after listening	n.s. (B>A trend)
Pica, Doughty & Young 1986	A. Modified input B. Modified interaction	university ESL n=16	choice & location of objects in game	B>A
Fujimoto, Lubin, Sasaki & Long 1986	A. NS passage (140 wpm, 2.11 s/TU) B. Modified input (117 wpm, 1.15 s/TU) C. Modified inter-	university ESL n=53	m. choice after listening	B>A

	action (124 wpm, 2.15 s/TU, paraphrases, repetitions)			
Chaudron & Richards 1986	A. Normal lecture B. Micro-level discourse markers C. Macro-level discourse markers D. Micro- & macro-level markers	university ESL n=146	clo call liste.	
Blau 1990 2 studies	Study 1: 18 texts A. Complex sentences, no surface cues (145 & 170 wpm) B. Complex sentences + surface str. cues (145 & 170 wpm) C. Simple sentences + surface str. cues (145 & 170 wpm)	university EFL Poland n=72 university ESL Puerto Rico n=100	m. choice after listening	C oth. in 1 sampl only
	Study 2: 3 monologs A. 200 wpm B. 185 wpm C. 150 wpm with 3-sec. pauses at selected phrase/clause/sentence boundaries	university EFL Poland n=36 university ESL Puerto Rico n=70	Wh questions after listening	C>A,B in both samples
	READING COMPREHENSION STUDIES			
Johnson 1981	A. Regular B. Simple syntax & paraphrases	university ESL n=46	m. choice after reading & recall protocols	B>A on recall
Blau 1982	18 passages A. Complex sentences with no surface structure cues B. Complex sentences + surface str. cues C. Simple sentences	university ESL n=85 8th grade ESL n=111 university ESL n=79 p*	m. choice after reading	n.s. (B,A>C trend) p*B>C
Brown 1987	A. NS passage (10th grd. readability B. Modified input (simple syntax, 5th grd. rdbty.)	9th-11th grade n=30	m. choice during reading	B,C>A

67 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

	C. Modified interaction (synonyms paraphrase, 9th grade readabty.)			
Tsang 1987	A. Same as B. Brown C. 1987	9th-13th grade n=401	m. choice during reading	B,C>A for 9th & 10th grade
Parker & Chaudron 1987	A. NS passage (redundancy removed, thematic structure reduced using canonical word order throughout) B. Elaborative modification (redundancy, e.g. left-dislocated NPs, added; thematic structure made explicit, e.g. by cleft sentences)	university ESL n=43	cloze in sections after reading parts of passage (explicit thematic structure & redundancy alone & combined vs. NS)	n.s.

Key: s/TU = s-nodes per T-unit; wpm = words per minute
p* = perceived comprehension

While the studies differ in a number of ways, some generalizations are possible. (1) Linguistic simplification improves comprehension of surface propositional content, but is not consistently superior to elaborate modification in those studies in which the elaborative effects can be isolated. (2) Comprehension is consistently improved when elaborative modifications are present. (3) There is some evidence that modifications (of either type) are more useful to learners of lower L2 proficiency. (4) Single adjustments of one type or another are generally not strong enough to have an effect on the comprehensibility of whole passages or lecturettes, but multiple adjustments of one type are.

Simplification and elaboration were conflated in several studies in Figure 1, unfortunately, because the original researchers were interested in a different issue, namely, the question of whether input modified naturally for non-native interlocutors (which often contains examples of both simplification and elaboration) facilitates comprehension. This, together with the generally encouraging early findings, motivated the new study of the comparative effectiveness of simplification and elaboration as approaches to text modification, of which a brief report follows.

(For full details and statistical analyses, see Ross et al, 1991.) Given previous findings, it was hypothesized (1) that readers of both simplified and elaborated texts would comprehend them better than readers of unmodified NS texts, as shown by subjects' scores on the same multiple-choice test, and (2) that there would be no statistically significant difference between the level of comprehension achieved by readers of simplified and elaborated texts.

Method

Subjects

Subjects were 483 Japanese college students, whose EFL proficiency varied from 19 to 70 on the 75-item grammar section of the Comprehensive English Test (CELT, Harris and Palmer, 1982). All had completed eight years of compulsory instruction in English.

Instrumentation

Text types

Reading materials consisted of 13 texts on a variety of topics, each in three forms. The three forms, NS baseline, simplified and elaborated, of one of the shortest passages used in the study, Catfish, are shown in Appendix 1, along with three comprehension questions. Question 1, a replication item, was used in the study. Question 2, a synthesis item, and 3, an inference item, were not used in the study, but have been added to illustrate the three types of questions in the test (discussed below). Descriptive statistics for the readability (Flesch-Kincaide grade level), complexity (mean words per sentence) and total length in words of the 13 passages are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Characteristics of the three forms of 13 texts used in the study

	Readability (Flesch-Kincaide grade level)	Complexity (words per sentence)	Length (total words)
Unmodified (NS)	12.8	23.7	1563
Simplified	7.5	12.2	1614
Elaborated	14.0	27.6	2458

Table 1 shows that elaborated texts were twice as complex as simplified ones (an average of 27.6 words compared with 12.2 words per sentence), 50% longer, and 6.5 grade levels more advanced in readability (14.0 compared with 7.5). Although this need not be the case, the elaborated texts used here also turned out to be more complex, longer, and 1.2 grade levels more advanced in readability than the NS baseline passages, emulating the pattern shown in the Paco sentences. These differences seem to have had an important influence on the outcome of the study.

Reading Comprehension

A total of 30 items were written to accompany the 13 texts, each item consisting of the correct response and three distractors. They assessed three progressively deeper comprehension processes (see Davey, 1988, for a discussion of reading comprehension item types, and Appendix 1 for sample questions). Replication items require the reader to find a reproduction of the text in the question stem, either word for word or with minor lexical changes, in order to understand factual material in the passage. They are similar to what are sometimes called "surface comprehension" questions. Synthesis items require the reader to connect a number of different, although explicitly stated, facts in the passage, facts which may occur across different sentences or paragraphs. Inference items require the reader to make a deduction about the implications of the text, the basis for which may be the reader's understanding of meanings conveyed anywhere in the text and/or their background knowledge of the topic (a combination of Davey's 'bridging', 'gist' and 'reader-based' inference).

To assess the reliability of the item classification, four EFL reading experts received training in the three-way classification, and then independently coded the thirty reading items as to the process required: replication, synthesis or inferencing. Only 14 items on which at least three of the four experts concurred were retained for analyses of relationships between text types and item types.

Procedures

The study was conducted at various sites in Japan during two regular 90-minute class sessions. In the first session, subjects first completed a 15-item bio-data questionnaire and were then given 45 minutes to complete the structure section of the CELT. At the next class meeting, test booklets, each containing one of the three versions of the thirteen texts, were randomly distributed within each intact

class. This procedure provided the most feasible alternative to true randomization in that the three text versions were distributed equally and randomly within classes. Subjects were given 70 minutes to complete the test, a period assessed as reasonable on the basis of a pilot run of the procedure.

Analysis

The test and survey data were collated into a relational database and sorted by text type. The results of the text distribution procedure were first assessed through an analysis of variance on the CELT scores. It was found, as hoped, that the effect for text type was not significant ($F=.563$, $df=2$, $p<.57$), suggesting that the quasi-random test-distribution procedure had been successful in producing groups of comparable FL reading ability. However, in order to consider the potential interaction of proficiency as measured by CELT and differential comprehension of the three types of passages, adjusted test scores were used in analyses of covariance (ANCOVAs) to assess the effects of text type on comprehension and performance on the three item types. Listwise deletion of cases was necessary to guarantee that the sum of item types contained no missing responses. For this reason, the n-size varied slightly for each test.

Results

Reliability of Measures and Dependability of Item Classifications

Internal consistency estimates (KR-20) for the CELT Structure Test and reading comprehension test are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Reliability of measures and dependability of item classifications

CELT Structure Test	Reading Comprehension	Experts
.85	.70	.62
Kuder-Richardson-20	Kuder-Richardson-20	Kappa
75 Items	30 Items	4x14 Matrix

The coefficient for the CELT (.85) is acceptably high. That for the reading comprehension test (.70) suggests that the degree of homogeneity for the whole test is relatively low, providing support for the idea that the various item types require different text comprehension processes. The Cohen's Kappa coefficient (.62) is a measure of the reliability of the four experts' three-way classification of the 14 items which survived the "three-out-of-four-or-better" criterion. Kappa is always lower than simple percent agreement indices of inter-rater reliability since, unlike those measures, it corrects for chance agreement. The observed coefficient of .62 falls within the acceptable range for this conservative measure, which is usually put at .60 - .80 (for discussion, see Cohen, 1960; Hartman, 1977; Chaudron, Crookes and Long, 1988).

Effect of Text Type on Reading Comprehension

Observed mean scores for the 30-item reading comprehension test and the same mean scores adjusted for English proficiency, as measured by the CELT Structure Test, are shown in Table 3a.

Table 3a: Observed and adjusted means for reading scores

	n	X	s	Adjusted X
Unmodified (NS)	158	18.4367	4.4298	18.3278
Simplified	163	19.3742	4.2121	19.4794
Elaborated	162	18.8765	4.5160	18.8770
Entire sample	483	18.9006	4.3947	

As shown by the adjusted means, students reading the simplified version of the texts scored highest (x = 19.48), followed by those reading the elaborated version (x = 18.88), with those reading the NS baseline version doing poorest (x = 18.33). The results of the ANCOVA on the adjusted reading scores are presented in Table 3b.

Table 3b: ANCOVA and LSD test for relationship between text-type and adjusted reading scores

EFFECT	SS	df	MS	F	p
Covariate (CELT)	1569.3000	1	1569.3000	98.014	.0000
Text	106.2990	2	52.1494	3.320	.0358
Within	7669.2800	479	16.0110		

LSD: 1. NS x simplified t = 2.58, p < .01, 2-tailed
2. NS x elaborated: t = 1.23, n.s.
3. simplified x elaborated: t = 1.36, n.s.

There was a strong relationship between subjects' English proficiency and their reading comprehension scores ($F=98.01$, $df=1$, $p<.0000$). With the differences in proficiency statistically controlled via the ANCOVA, there was a significant effect for text type ($F=3.32$, $df=2$, $p<.036$). Results of a post hoc Least Significant Difference (LSD) test showed that the primary source of this effect was the statistically significantly higher test scores of subjects who had read the simplified texts compared with scores of those who had read the unmodified NS baseline texts ($t=2.58$, $p<.01$). While the elaborated group failed to perform statistically significantly better than the NS baseline group, there was a trend in the data in that direction ($t=1.23$, $p>.05$), and no statistically significant difference between the performance of the simplified and elaborated groups ($t=1.36$, $p>.05$).

Interaction of Text Type and Item Type

CELT-adjusted mean scores for the three groups' performance on replicative (k=8), synthesis (k=4) and inference (k=2) items are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Adjusted means for replication, synthesis and inference items

	replication (k=8)	synthesis (k=4)	inference (k=2)
Unmodified (NS)	4.80	3.16	.479
Simplified	5.49	3.29	.513
Elaborated	5.28	3.10	.662

Controlling for EFL proficiency, ANCOVAs were run on relationships between text type and scores for each item type, revealing statistically significant effects for text type on the three groups' performance on replicative items ($F=8.90$, $df=2$, $p<.0004$) and inference items ($F=3.30$, $df=2$, $p<.037$), but not synthesis items ($F=-1.94$, $df=2$, $p<.142$). (For full statistical data, see Ross et al, 1991).

A post hoc LSD test showed that readers of the simplified text scored significantly higher than readers of the NS baseline text on replication items ($t=4.14$, $p<.0001$), as did readers of the elaborated texts ($t=2.86$, $p<.01$). There was no significant difference between the performance on replication items by readers of simplified and elaborated texts ($t=1.26$, $p>.05$). A post hoc LSD test showed that readers of elaborated texts significantly outperformed both readers of unmodified NS texts ($t=2.44$, $p<.02$) and readers of simplified texts ($t=1.99$, $p<.05$) on inference

items. There was no statistically significant difference between readers of unmodified and simplified texts ($t=.47$, $p>.05$) on inference items.

The interaction of text type and the cognitive tasks that individual test items place on readers suggests that elaboration and simplification differ in fundamental ways. For the reading tasks which require an extraction of information from a text's surface, simplification of the lexis and syntax is sufficient. Conversely, for the linking of propositional content across sentence boundaries, and for making generalizations about the relation of a text to knowledge of the world, elaborative modifications are indicated. The question of interest is why text elaboration, which, in terms of readability indices, should make a text more difficult to process, in fact leads readers to make more accurate inference about the propositions in a text. One approach to examining how texts are enriched by elaborative modification is to consider how propositional content is affected by both simplification and elaboration.

Effects of Modifications on Message Content

Comprehension of inference items requires a linkage from the written text to pragmatic implicature. Information from the text, if comprehended accurately, implies that propositions contained within the text are related in specific ways. It is perhaps for this reason that elaborative extensions of textual information, even though they increase the processing burden through greater clause length, appear to improve the accuracy of responses to items requiring inferencing. The technique of elaboration, using parenthetical expansion of key terms and concepts in the original text, provides the reader with a "second look" at those terms and concepts and consequently increases the chance that inferencing about them can be stimulated in the reading process. Inferencing is optimized when textual coherence is established through repetition of major propositions within a text (Kintsch, 1974; Kintsch and van Dijk, 1978; Omanson et al 1984). As second language readers are particularly constrained by short term memory limitations, they need to use chunking strategies in order to summarize their schematic understanding of the text on an incremental basis. Textual elaboration facilitates the repetition of propositional meanings because key propositions are restated across processing cycles, which roughly correspond to clause or sentence units. In Kintsch and van Dijk's model (1978), the most salient (recognized) propositions and those that most immediately follow them are the primary candidates for associative linkage within processing cycles. As a reader makes inferences about propositions across processing cycle boundaries, the probability of recalling those propositions increases.

A propositional analysis of three versions of one of the passages used in this study reveals differences between the information available to the reader across the three text-types, and demonstrates how elaboration of textual material creates a critical mass of propositional information which aids inferencing. Since it has already been discussed from a complexity standpoint and included in Appendix A, Catfish is again chosen for the illustration.

A. Baseline (NS) version

Propositions	Text
1. EXIST:catfish	Catfish have both gills for use under water and lungs for use on land,where they can breathe for twelve hours or more. The hot daytime sun would dry them out, but they can slip out of their ponds at night and still stay cool while they hunt for food. They are meat eaters, so they search for worms, insects and other fish, and can often be seen crossing roads at night while on these hunting expeditions.
2. HAVE:catfish,gills	
3. HAVE:catfish,lungs	
4. USE:catfish,gills,underwater	
5. USE:catfish,lungs,on land	
6. BREATHE:catfish,on land	
7. BREATHE:catfish, 12 hours+	
8. BE:sun,hot	
9. BE:sun,daytime	
10. DRY:sun,catfish	
11. SLIP OUT:catfish,ponds	
12. SLIP OUT:catfish,at night	
13. STAY COOL:catfish,at night	
14. HUNT:catfish,at night	
15. HUNT:catfish,food	
16. EAT MEAT:catfish	
17. SEARCH:catfish,worms	
18. SEARCH:catfish,insects	
19. SEARCH:catfish,fish	
20. SEE:catfish,at night	
21. CROSS:catfish,roads	
22. CROSS:catfish,at night	

In this analysis, each proposition is listed according to its predicates and arguments. For the unmodified version of the Catfish story, propositions were presented in a linear manner. The simplified version, B, below, which was modified syntactically to reduce clause length and utilize high frequency vocabulary, presents the same major propositions, but does so with a more limited use of descriptive modifiers. Thus, syntactic simplification has the effect of bleeding information from the text in a way that serves to present propositions in their skeletal form. Carrell (1987) notes that lexical and syntactic simplification of texts for the purpose of controlling 'readability' may actually make such texts more difficult to comprehend because semantically rich modifiers and transitional markers are typically prime candidates for deletion.

B. Simplified version

Propositions	Text
1. EXIST:catfish	Catfish have both gills and lungs. The gills are used for breathing under water. The lungs are for use on land. The fish can breathe on land for twelve hours or more. At night these fish can slip out of ponds. They move at night so they can stay cool. The hot sun would dry them out. They hunt at night, too. They are meat eaters. They search for worms, insects and other fish. People often observe them crossing roads at night when the fish are hunting.
2. HAVE:catfish,gills	
3. HAVE:catfish,lungs	
4. USE:catfish,gills,underwater	
5. USE:catfish,lungs,on land	
6. BREATHE:catfish,on land	
7. BREATHE:catfish, 12 hours+	
8. SLIP OUT:catfish, at night	
9. SLIP OUT:catfish, ponds	
10. MOVE:catfish,at night	
11. STAY COOL:catfish,at night	
12. BE:sun, hot	
13. DRY:sun,catfish	
14. HUNT:catfish,at night	
15. EAT MEAT:catfish	
16. SEARCH:catfish,worms	
17. SEARCH:catfish,insects	
18. SEARCH:catfish,fish	
19. OBSERVE:people,catfish	
20. CROSS:catfish,roads	
21. CROSS:catfish,at night	
22. HUNT:catfish,at night	

C, below, is the elaborated version. As can be seen, the modifications used to produce it resulted in a larger number of propositions. With the increased amount of detailed information available, the probability that readers can link information across sentence boundaries, and relate one proposition to another, most likely also increases, leading to the improved level of accuracy of readers' inferences about the major propositions in the text.

C. Elaborated version

Propositions	Text
1. EXIST:catfish	Catfish have two systems breathing: gills, like other fish, for use under water, and lungs, like people, for use on land, where they can breathe for twelve hours or more. Catfish would dry out and die from the heat of the sun, so they stay in water during the day time. At night, on the other hand, they can slip out of their ponds and still stay cool while they hunt for food. They are meat eaters, so they hunt for worms, insects and other fish. People travelling at night often see catfish crossing roads when they are out on these hunting expeditions.
2. HAVE:catfish,two systems	
3. HAVE:catfish,gills	
4. HAVE:other fish,gills	
5. USE:catfish,gills,under water	
6. HAVE:catfish,lungs	
7. HAVE:people,lungs	
8. USE:catfish,lungs,on land	
9. BREATHE:catfish,on land	
10. BREATHE:catfish, 12 hours +	
11. DRY OUT:sun,catfish	
12. DIE:catfish, from heat	
13. STAY:catfish,water	
14. STAY:catfish,daytime	
15. SLIP OUT:catfish,at night	
16. STAY COOL:catfish,at night	
17. HUNT:catfish,at night	
18. HUNT:catfish,food	
19. EAT MEAT:catfish	
20. HUNT:catfish,worms	
21. HUNT:catfish,insects	
22. HUNT:catfish,other fish	
23. TRAVEL:people:at night	
24. SEE:people,catfish	
25. CROSS:catfish,roads	
26. CROSS:catfish,at night	
27. BE OUT:catfish,at night	
28. HUNT:catfish,at night	

The unmodified version of the text about catfish (Form A) contains 22 propositions. Seven predicates are repeated twice, and one appears three times. The ratio of propositions to repetition is one. Much like the unmodified version, the syntactically simplified Form B contains the same number of propositions, but these are expressed by a larger number of predicates. Although more predicates are used, the ratio of proposition to repetition is very similar to the unmodified version. The majority of predicates appear only once in the text (8 out of a total of 14). The simplified version can therefore be seen as one that presents the same number of ideas, but in a manner that does not rely on recycling of key predicates, and may in fact require more unaided recognition of basal verbs than does the unmodified version.

The elaborated version contains the largest number of propositions (28), and also utilizes the greatest degree of repetition, with two of the key predicates in the story appearing at least five times. The ratio of proposition to repetition is roughly twice that seen in either the unmodified or simplified versions. According to Kintsch and van Dijk (1978), the probability of propositional recall increases with the gross number of instances of propositional repetition. Inferencing across propositions can also be seen as contingent on the process of recycling. The observed differences in propositional repetition between the texts in this study suggests that the basis for the superior performance of the readers of the elaborated version on the inferential test questions is related to the repeated accessability of story-line propositions in a variety of extended and embellished clauses. This approach stands in clear contrast to the strategy implied by syntactic simplification (Form B), since the Flesch-Kincaide Readability of the elaborated version (17.3) suggests that the text should be more than twice as difficult as the simplified version.

The results of this study indicate that the type of reading task, i.e. inferencing, may interact with the modifications made on the text in a way that make simplification useful for only a very limited range of superficial pedagogical devices.

Discussion

Effect of Text Type on Reading Comprehension

There were three main hypotheses as to the effect of text-type on FL reading comprehension. Hypothesis (1) was supported: students who read the linguistically simplified passages scored statistically significantly higher on the 30-item multiple-choice comprehension test than students who read the unmodified (NS) versions of the same passages. Hypothesis (2) was not supported: students who read the elaborated versions of the passages scored higher than those who read the unmodified (NS) versions, but not statistically significantly so. Hypothesis (3) was supported: there was no statistically significant difference between the reading scores of students who read the simplified and the elaborated versions of the passages.

These results are broadly consistent with those of previous studies. Simplification and elaboration were again both shown to improve comprehension. Simplification was more effective than elaboration when scores of readers of simplified and elaborated passages were compared with those of readers of unmodified (NS) passages, but it was not statistically significantly superior to elaboration, as shown by the lack of a statistically significant difference between scores of readers of simplified and elaborated texts.

Consistent with previous findings, elaboration improved comprehension, but not as much as in some earlier studies. As shown in Table 2, the reason for this almost certainly lies in the fact that, as an accidental by-product of the elaboration process, elaborated passages in this study were an average of one grade level harder in readability, 16% more complex in words per sentence, and nearly 60% longer than the unmodified (NS) passages. Each of these qualities must have worked against students reading the elaborated texts, their greater length potentially being especially problematic given that the same amount of time was allowed subjects in all three groups. Subjects in the elaborated condition had to read more material and answer the comprehension questions faster than subjects in the other two groups. The fact that the elaborated texts were more difficult than the unmodified (NS) texts by all three of these traditional criteria makes it surprising that subjects reading them did as well as they did, and means that hypothesis (2) was tested under very unfavorable conditions.

The predicted lack of a statistically significant difference between the groups reading the elaborated and simplified texts on the general reading measure provides even more remarkable evidence of the power of elaboration for non-native readers, given that the elaborated texts were an average of six grade levels harder in readability, 125% more complex in words per sentence, and 50% longer than the simplified ones. Elaboration of the input made it possible for one group of FL readers to perform at a level comparable to that of another group despite the fact that the second group's reading task was much easier as assessed by traditional criteria. They did this, moreover, while being exposed to more authentic target language models and to more unknown vocabulary and syntax. This is important when one remembers that one function of their classes was to improve their comprehension of passages like these, but that another was to teach them new vocabulary and grammar.

Interaction of Text Type and Item Type

There is some evidence from the findings of this study of an interaction between the kind of modifications made to a text and the depth of processing non-native readers can achieve. The trend is for both simplification and elaboration to assist readers in extracting low level, surface information from a passage, but for elaboration to become more useful as the depth of processing required by a reading task increases.

Elaboration, including parenthetical expansion of key terms and concepts in the original text, may be successful because it provides the reader with a "second look" at terms and concepts and consequently increases the chance that inferencing about them can be stimulated in the reading process. In contrast to elaborated texts, unmodified and simplified texts provide less context for stimulating the deeper pragmatic linkage necessary for inferring the consequences of passage meanings. Unmodified texts probably fail because concepts are obscured by the structural and lexical detail. Simplified texts probably fail because they strip away the richness of detail helpful for a reader to perceive a text's implications.

Conclusion

Readers of 13 simplified texts performed slightly better, although not statistically so, than readers of 13 elaborated texts when both groups were tested on their comprehension of passage content, despite the fact that the elaborated texts were considerably more difficult by traditional linguistic criteria. In the process, however, readers of the simplified texts were denied access to more authentic models of target language use and to some of the vocabulary and grammatical items they eventually needed to learn, whereas readers of elaborated texts experienced both. The results suggest that the time has come for teachers and materials writers to take such findings into account and adopt elaboration as an approach to modifying reading comprehension materials for foreign and second language learners. Elaboration would seem to serve the twin purposes of most FL and SL reading lessons, namely, (1) improving comprehension and (2) providing learners with the raw data they need for language development in the form of access to unknown linguistic items in classroom input. Given earlier similar findings on listening comprehension, elaboration would seem to constitute as viable an alternative to simplification for the presentation of both spoken and written discourse to foreign and second language learners.

As was the case here, elaboration can sometimes result in texts which on the surface are linguistically more complex, although cognitively simpler, than the original versions, since some changes, such as rephrasing, repetition and clefting to highlight thematic structure, inevitably produce greater sentence length, for example. There is no obvious reason to confront students with texts that are more complex than those they will encounter outside the classroom. When there is a danger of this happening during the preparation of classroom materials, the situation is easily remediable. One obvious solution is to break up the occasional overly long or syntactically complex sentence after elaboration has been completed, in other words, ironically, to apply one of the most traditional text simplification strategies - but to elaborated, rather than unmodified, texts.

If a simple extraction of explicitly stated factual information is called for by a reading task, it is possible that syntactic and lexical simplification will be sufficient aids for non-native readers. In the 1990's many students are being prepared for more than this in their English classes, however, especially, but not only, in content-based, sheltered subject-matter, task-based, and immersion programs. If the purpose of pedagogical materials in these and other more conventional FL and SL programs is to provide opportunities for more effective learning strategies to be implemented, including the ability to process texts at a deeper level, elaboration should again be considered. The study's findings suggest that elaborative modification serves to provide semantic detail foreign language readers find helpful when making inferences from texts. Second language learners need listening and reading materials that stimulate them intellectually, that jointly trigger the process of understanding language from context and content from language.

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Appendix 1: Three Versions of a Text, and Accompanying Comprehension Questions.

Catfish

3A Unmodified (NS)

Catfish have both gills for use under water and lungs for use on land, where they can breathe for twelve hours or more. The hot daytime sun would dry them out, but they can slip out of their ponds at night and still stay cool while they hunt for food. They are meat eaters, so they search for worms, insects and other fish, and can often be seen crossing roads at night while on these hunting expeditions.

3B Simplified

Catfish have both gills and lungs. The gills are used for breathing under water. The lungs are for use on land. The fish can breathe on land for twelve hours or more. At night these fish can slip out of ponds. They move at night so they can stay cool. The hot sun would dry them out. They hunt for food at night, too. They are meat eaters. They search for worms, insects and other fish. People often observe them crossing roads at night when the fish are hunting.

84

3C Elaborated

Catfish have two systems for breathing: gills, like other fish, for use under water, and lungs, like people, for use on land, where they can breathe for twelve hours or more. Catfish would dry out and die from the heat of the sun, so they stay in water during the daytime. At night, on the other hand, they can slip out of their ponds and still stay cool while they hunt for food. They are meat eaters, so they hunt for worms, insects and other fish. People travelling at night often see catfish crossing roads when the fish are out on these hunting expeditions.

Questions

1. (Replication)
Catfish breath through
a) gills in and out of water
b) gills in water only
c) lungs in and out of water
d) gills for 12 hours only

2. (Synthesis)
Catfish eat
a) only at night
b) different kinds of food
c) only when it is cool
d) mostly insects

3. (Inference)
Catfish
a) prefer meat to fish
b) are a threat to motorists
c) are adaptable predators
d) can live on land for as long as in water

NATURALLY SIMPLIFIED INPUT, COMPREHENSION AND SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION

Rod Ellis

Introduction

Both naturalistic and classroom second language (L2) learners received simplified input (i.e. 'input' that is in some way simpler than that received by a native speaker engaged in a comparable activity)[1]. In the case of naturalistic settings the input is not simplified intentionally, but rather as part of the process of communicating with learners whose proficiency in the L2 has 'gaps' that cause misunderstandings. Input from native speakers that has been naturally simplified is generally referred to as foreigner talk (cf. Hatch, 1978). Input from other learners in the same kind of situation is known as interlanguage talk (cf. Krashen, 1981). Classroom learners may also be exposed to these kinds of simplified input, providing there are real opportunities to communicate in the L2. Teacher-talk has been shown to have similar properties to foreigner talk (cf. Henzl, 1979). However, classroom learners are also likely to receive input that has been pedagogically simplified in one of two ways. One way takes the form of graded input. This entails the preparation of texts (oral or written) in which the input has been intentionally simplified in accordance with (more or less) explicit criteria for determining what is 'simple' and what is 'complex'. In this case, the input is pedagogically simplified but is still intended to engage the learner in the search for meaning. The other way involves what Widdowson (1978) calls dependent exemplification - the preparation of texts (oral or written) in such a way as to focus the learner's attention on specific properties of the target language. Input as dependent exemplification is intended to teach the language rather than to engage the learner in the search for meaning. The principal difference between naturally simplified input and pedagogically simplified input (whether graded or dependent exemplification) is that whereas the former arises spontaneously in the course of interaction in the classroom, the latter is pre-planned. These basic distinctions are shown diagramatically in Figure 1.

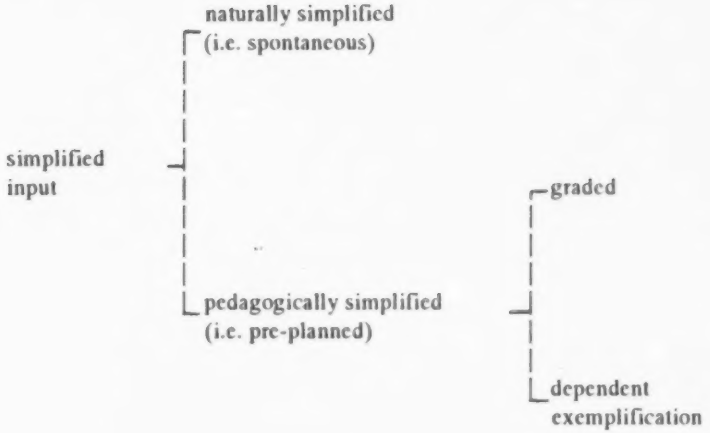

Figure 1: Types of Simplified Input in Language Teaching

The distinction between what Stern (1990) has referred to as the experiential and the analytical approaches to language teaching rests in part on what kind of input classroom learners receive[2]. The experiential approach seeks to provide learners with input that has been 'tuned' to a level that facilitates comprehension as part and parcel of trying to communicate with them. The input that learners receive, therefore, consists of naturally simplified input (in the form of teacher talk and interlanguage talk in the classroom) and also graded simplified input[3]. The analytical approach on the other hand places the emphasis on simplified input as dependent exemplification. It involves intentionally and systematically organising the input for the learners so they can learn specific linguistic features. It is a matter of some controversy whether language learning is best promoted by means of input of the experiential kind or by dependent exemplification. This paper, however, is not primarily concerned with this controversy. Rather it seeks to examine which kind of simplified input (naturally simplified vs. graded pedagogically simplified) is most effective in an experiential approach. In so doing, however, it is not intended to disparage the value of dependent exemplification.

The case for simplified input of the experiential kind has been argued most strongly by Krashen (1985). Krashen's Input Hypothesis states that learners progress along a natural order of acquisition by understanding input that contains structures that are a little bit beyond their current level of competence. He emphasizes that as long as the input is understood and there is enough of it, the

learner will automatically be exposed to the necessary grammar, so there is no need for formal instruction. Learners are able to comprehend input containing new linguistic material partly by utilizing contextual clues and partly because it has been 'roughly tuned' through teacher talk and interlanguage talk and by pedagogic grading. Krashen makes out a case for the use of both naturally simplified and graded pedagogically simplified input (henceforth to be referred to simply as 'pedagogically simplified') and appears to see equal value in both.

The Input Hypothesis does not make a clear distinction between simplified input that consists of formal simplifications (i.e. phonological, lexical and grammatical modifications) and simplified input containing interactional simplification (i.e. discourse modifications). Long (1983), however, has advanced the Interaction Hypothesis, according to which it is the modifications that make input comprehensible through the process of negotiating a communication problem that are especially beneficial for L2 acquisition. Long identifies a number of these modifications - clarification requests, confirmation checks, comprehension checks, self-repetitions and other-repetitions. He argues that they help to make unfamiliar linguistic input comprehensible and, therefore, acquirable by the learner. It would appear that Long considers naturally simplified input more likely to facilitate acquisition than pedagogically simplified input.

The purpose of this paper is to report on a number of recent studies carried out by students at Temple University Japan. These papers all address the role of simplified input in an experiential approach to language teaching and provide evidence to suggest that naturally simplified input is of particular value in promoting both comprehension and in facilitating one aspect of L2 acquisition (vocabulary development). The results of these studies suggest that simplified input that occurs naturally in the course of classroom interaction works better for acquisition than pedagogically simplified input.

Simplification, Comprehension and L2 Acquisition

Various claims regarding the effects of simplified input in an experiential approach can be advanced, based on two distinctions (see Figure 2). First, as described above, a distinction can be drawn between naturally simplified input and (graded) pedagogically simplified input. Second, a distinction needs to be made between the effects that such input has on comprehension and on acquisition. The following claims are then possible:

(1) Pedagogically simplified input aids comprehension.

(2) Pedagogically simplified input facilitates acquisition.

(3) Naturally simplified input aids comprehension.

(4) Naturally simplified input facilitates acquisition.

Further claims relating to the relative effectiveness of the two types of input in promoting comprehension and acquisition can also be made:

(5) Naturally simplified input aids comprehension more than pedagogically simplified input.

(6) Naturally simplified input facilitates acquisition more than pedagogically simplified input.

Type of input	Comprehension	Acquisition
Pedagogically simplified		
Naturally simplified		

Figure 2: Input, Comprehension and Acquisition

There is now substantial empirical support for claims (1) and (3). The claim that pedagogically simplified input aids comprehension underlies the long-established tradition of the graded reader. It is supported by the experience of countless teachers and also by studies such as Blau (1982), Johnson (1981) and Urquhart (1984) which indicate that both formal and functional simplifications improve learners' comprehension of written text. Other studies indicate that pre-simplified input can also aid comprehension of spoken text (e.g. Long, 1985). There is also empirical evidence to support claim (5). For example, Pica, Young

and Doughty (1987) compared the effects of pre-modified input (consisting of directions that were longer, more redundant and less complex than directions given to native speaker interlocutors) and interactionally modified input (achieved by providing learners with opportunities to seek verbal assistance when they did not understand a direction) on learners' ability to carry out instructions. They found that the naturally modified input resulted in better comprehension of the instructions than the pedagogically simplified input. Loschky (1989) was also able to show that interactionally modified input resulted in higher levels of comprehension. Simplified input, then, is good for comprehension, especially if the simplifications occur naturally in the course of face-to-face interaction with a teacher.

There have been no studies, however, which lend clear support to claims (2), (4) or (6). So far, researchers have not been able to demonstrate that either pedagogically simplified input or naturally simplified input results in better acquisition. Krashen (forthcoming) surveys countless studies that show a positive correlation between amount of reading and L2 proficiency (and also between amount of reading and writing ability), but it cannot be claimed on the basis of such studies that comprehensible input causes acquisition to take place. There have been few attempts to show that input made comprehensible by means of either pedagogic simplification or natural simplification results in the acquisition of linguistic items that were not previously part of the learners' interlanguage. Those attempts that have been made have proved unsuccessful. For example, Loschky (1989) found that neither pre-simplified nor interactionally modified input was any more effective in promoting the retention of locative forms by classroom learners of L2 Japanese than baseline (unsimplified) input.

There are a number of theoretical objections to the claim that comprehensible input is necessary for acquisition. Sharwood Smith (1986) and Faerch and Kasper (1986) argue that the processes of comprehension and acquisition are not the same. Input that is good for comprehension may not be of any use for acquisition. According to this view, simplified input may help comprehension, but is a waste of time where acquisition is concerned. White (1990) has been particularly hard on simplified input, arguing not only that it cannot assist the learner to discover certain grammatical facts about the language but that it may be even detrimental in that it deprives the learner of useful structural information about the target language grammar. Sato (1986) also queries whether simplified input (in this case derived from interacting naturally in the L2) contributes to acquisition, pointing out that even if learners ultimately succeed in comprehending what is said to them there is no reason why they should pay attention to the linguistic forms that caused them problems in the first place. These

arguments, then, dispute claims (2), (4) and (6). It should be noted, however, that there is no clear empirical evidence to support the arguments.

To sum up, the current state of play in second language acquisition research seems to be this: yes, simplified input, particularly if derived from naturally occurring interactions, does aid comprehension, but no, it has not yet been shown to facilitate acquisition. It is probably comforting to teachers to be told that the traditional use of simplified input in language teaching is good for comprehension and it is useful for them to know that the simplified input that is derived naturally from interaction works better in this respect than pre-simplified input (of the kind found in graded readers or listening comprehension activities), but it may be somewhat worrying to hear that, to date, there is no clear evidence that simplified input of either sort facilitates L2 acquisition and that there are a number of researchers who think that it is wrong to suggest that it does.

Learning Vocabulary with the Help of Simplified Input

The Input Hypothesis and the Interaction Hypothesis are both concerned with the relationship between comprehensible input and the acquisition of L2 grammar. Krashen, for instance, makes a direct link between comprehensible input and the 'natural order' (i.e. the order of acquisition of grammatical morphemes that is evident in naturalistic acquisition). Long, too, views 'acquisition' mainly in terms of grammar. The arguments against these two hypotheses have also focussed on whether simplified input aids grammar learning. The claims derived from the hypotheses, however, are equally applicable to other levels of language. If it can be shown that simplified input enables learners to internalize new lexical items, for instance, then its use in language pedagogy as a device for helping acquisition (rather than just comprehension) will be lent support. In this section a brief account of three recent studies that have looked at the relationship between input (in particular interactionally modified input) and the acquisition of vocabulary will be provided.

The first study sought to compare the effects of three ways of learning vocabulary. Brauer (1991) asked two classes of Japanese high school students (N = 40) to memorise a list of ten new English words (referring to occupations) and their L1 equivalents and another two classes (N = 42) to memorise the same list of words but this time with the support of sentences contextualising the meaning of each word. Another two classes (N = 42) were given a communicative vocabulary lesson. The same ten words were first introduced to the students by means of flash cards with L1 translations. In the next activity the students were asked to rate each

occupation in terms of 'fun', 'amount of income' and 'safety' and then to rank the jobs according to their evaluations of them. In a third activity, the students listened to the teacher reading sentences defining each occupation and had to name them. In the final activity each student was given a slip of paper with a definition of one of the jobs and went round the class asking other students 'What do you do?' and answering the same question according to the sentence on their paper. Brauer was careful to ensure that all three treatments took the same length of time - 25 minutes.

The effects of these treatments were measured by means of a test that required the students to write the Japanese equivalents (in katakana) of the ten English words. This test was administered more or less immediately after the treatments were finished and again two weeks later. There was no difference according to treatment on the immediate post-test with the students in all the classes achieving very high scores (i.e. over 90%). However, the students who had received the communicative vocabulary lesson proved much more successful in retaining the new words. After two weeks they were still able to score 66%, whereas the other two groups of students only managed 54% and 51% respectively - a difference that was statistically significant.

This study suggests that opportunities for communicating do have a real impact on vocabulary learning. In the short term, the time honoured techniques of rote-memorisation (which Japanese high school students use extensively and with considerable success) can be effective in enabling learners to learn the meanings of new words. In the long term, however, such methods may not be so effective, as they do not ensure that the new items are planted deeply in memory. As a result, many of the items may be lost fairly rapidly. Participating in classroom interaction that centres around the new words appears to be equally effective in the short-term but to have the added advantage of ensuring better long-term retention. This advantage is evident even in the case of the 'passive' knowledge of lexical items measured by the kind of post-tests used in Brauer's study; it is interesting to speculate that it would have been even greater if tests calling for 'active' knowledge of the items had been employed.

Brauer's study does not speak directly to the value of naturally simplified input in vocabulary learning, as it provides no information regarding the nature of the interactions in the communicative vocabulary lesson. It seems reasonable to suppose that the information-gap activities Brauer designed for the lesson resulted in the types of modified interaction that Long and others have claimed is important for L2 acquisition. To make strong claims for the effects of natural simplification, however, it is necessary to examine the actual classroom processes that take place. The other two studies did this.

Both studies (Tanaka, 1991, and Yamazaki, 1991) were a replication and an extension of Pica, Young and Doughty's (1987) study. Their aim was to compare the effects of pre-modified input and interactionally modified input on both learners' comprehension and on their acquisition of new vocabulary items. The studies go further than Pica, Young and Doughty's study because they investigate the effects of simplified input on acquisition and not just comprehension. In this respect, they resemble Loschky's (1989) study.

The design of the two studies was identical. Japanese high school students were asked to carry out a task under three different conditions. The task required the students to listen to a native speaker teacher give directions in English regarding where to place a series of objects in a picture of a kitchen. The subjects did not know the English words that labelled the different objects. Two versions of the directions were developed. One was a baseline version, derived from a recording of two native speakers performing the task. The other was a pre-modified version, based on recordings of a native speaker performing the task with three learners from the same population as the subjects of the studies. This version reflected the changes that the native speaker made to the baseline version in carrying out the task. In comparison to the baseline version, the pre-modified version involved a lower rate of speech (146.5 words as opposed to 246.9 words per minute), increased redundancy and greater repetition of the names of the objects. An example will help to give the flavour of the two versions:

Baseline:	We have an apple. And I'd like you to put the apple in the sink.
Pre-modified	We have an apple. And I'd like you to put the apple in the sink. A sink is a hole and you wash dishes inside it and you can fill it with water. It's a hole in a counter to put water and dishes. Put the apple in the sink.

Altogether there were fifteen directions used in the study. One group of subjects received the baseline (unmodified) version. A second group received the pre-modified version. A third group received the baseline version but was allowed to interact with the teacher whenever they did not understand one of the directions. This group, therefore, received naturally modified input. The following is an example of an exchange generated by the teacher's baseline direction:

Teacher: And after the scouring pad, can you find the ladle? Hang the ladle over the sink too. On the right side of the frying pan.

Student: What is a ladle?

Teacher: A ladle is a big spoon for soup, for serving soup, a big spoon.

Student: Where do I put it?

Teacher: Uh, put it on the right side of the frying pan.

Student: One more time please.

Teacher: Okay. And after the scouring pad, can you find the ladle? Hang the ladle over the sink, too. On the right side of the frying pan.

Student: Where do I put it?

Teacher: Uh, put it ... uh, find the frying pan and put it on the right, the right of the frying pan, the right side.

Student: Is the ladle on the wall?

Teacher: Yes, the ladle is on the wall. Right. Good.

A comprehension score was based on the subjects' responses to the directions. Vocabulary acquisition scores were obtained from post-tests (similar to those used in the Brauer study, which were administered two days after the task and one month after the task) and from a vocabulary recognition test administered two and half months after the task. Thus, the test was administered on three occasions. In addition, the subjects were asked to complete an 'uptake recall chart' (Slimani, 1989) immediately after the lesson; this involved writing down all the new vocabulary items they could recall from the directions they had listened to.

The subjects of the two studies were different. Tanaka investigated 79 third-year students in three intact classes at a public high school in Saitama, near Tokyo. All the students had chosen to study English in elective classes. Yamazaki investigated 127 fourth-year students at a prestigious school in Tokyo. Yamazaki's subjects were in general more highly motivated to learn English than Tanaka's, as

they expected to enter a prestigious Japanese university, for which they would need to obtain high scores in an entrance examination that included a test of English.

The results from these two studies are revealing and interestingly different. With regard to comprehension both studies showed a clear advantage for interactionally modified input. A detailed analysis of the input resulting from the interactional treatment showed that the directions were longer and more redundant than the directions in the pre-modified condition. For example, Tanaka found an average of 4.4 repetitions of the key words per direction in the pre-modified input but a massive 14.7 in the interactionally modified input. Clarification requests by the learners served as triggers for teacher repetition. Furthermore, the difference between the two kinds of input was even greater on those directions where the interactional group scored markedly higher than the pre-modified group. Tanaka found no significant difference in the comprehension scores of the pre-modified and baseline groups, but in Yamazaki's study there was a difference - the pre-modified group achieved a much higher level of comprehension.

Interactionally modified input also works better than pre-modified input where acquisition of new vocabulary items is concerned. In the immediate post-test the subjects who had experienced opportunities to seek clarification when they did not understand did better than those who received pre-adjusted input in both studies. In the case of Tanaka's subjects this advantage was also evident in the subsequent post-tests. In the recognition test administered two and half months after the treatment, the interactional group was able to achieve an average score of nearly 40%, a remarkably high score given that all the words were completely new to the learners before the study commenced. However, the difference became non-significant for post-tests 2 and 3 in the case of Yamakazi's subjects.

The kind of input the learners experienced also had a marked effect on the words they reported having learnt on the uptake chart. In Tanaka's study, the pre-simplified group listed a meagre total of 9 words, whereas the interactional group listed 49 items, over five times as many. The majority of these items occurred in directions that had stimulated a large amount of interactional work. Similar results were obtained by Yamazaki, although the number of uptake items was considerably higher in both conditions. The pre-modified groups claimed 23 words, while the interactionally modified group claimed 96 words.

Yamazaki reports one other interesting result. She found that most of the requests for clarification were performed by just 7 of the 42 subjects in the interactional group. However, of these 7, only 3 obtained comprehension and vocabulary test scores above the mean for the group. It would appear, therefore,

that it was not the learners who interacted the most who benefited from the naturally simplified input, but rather those who adopted a listening role.

These two studies provide clear evidence that input that is modified naturally in the course of interaction aids comprehension and facilitates vocabulary acquisition. This kind of input seems to work better than pre-modified input for both acquisition and vocabulary learning. It should also be noted that the interactionally modified input was derived from whole-class, lockstep instruction, not from group work. This is not to suggest that group work might not have proved equally or even more effective, but it shows that the advantages of input obtained through interaction hold even in conditions that are least conducive to modifying the structure of conversation[4].

The differences between the results obtained by the two studies may reflect the differing levels of motivation of the learners. Yamazaki's learners were more highly motivated than Tanaka's because they would need to perform well in English to enter the universities of their choice (i.e. they had strong instrumental motivation). Thus, Yamazaki's baseline subjects worked harder to cope with the difficult input than did Tanaka's, with the result that their comprehension was not significantly worse than those who received the easier pre-simplified input. Also, Yamazaki's pre-simplified subjects did not do significantly worse in vocabulary acquisition on the second and third post-tests than the interactional subjects, because they probably made up the difference evident in the first post-test through private study of the vocabulary items outside class. What this suggests is that motivation - as we have always known - is an important mediating variable. Interestingly, though, interactionally modified input seems to be particularly beneficial for less motivated students, perhaps because, as McNamara (1973) has suggested, the act of communicating is itself intrinsically motivating.

There is, however, one major caveat that needs to be stated. There was a marked difference in the time taken by the pre-simplified and interactional groups to complete the task. Tanaka reports that his subjects took 10 minutes to do the task with pre-simplified input but 40 minutes for the subjects in the interactional condition. It is not clear, therefore, whether the advantages observed for interactionally modified input derive from increased exposure or from the opportunity to focus on problem items. Input that is simplified naturally through interaction may result in better comprehension and may facilitate vocabulary learning, but it is likely to take up more time. Is it, therefore, ultimately more efficient?

These three studies demonstrate that providing learners with opportunities for communicating in a classroom setting leads to vocabulary acquisition. They also show that the learning that takes place is retained better than that resulting from rote-memorization and is quantitatively greater than the learning that occurs as a result of trying to comprehend pre-simplified input. Interactionally modified input promotes effective vocabulary learning in poorly motivated as well as highly motivated students and seems to work as well, if not better, for those who participate in it silently as for those who engage productively. However, the provision of interactionally modified input is time-consuming.

Conclusion

It is probably true to say that in language teaching circles the idea of 'simplified input' has been used mainly to refer to the graded reading and listening materials which abound on publishers' lists. One of my purposes in this paper has been to argue that the notion of simplified input needs to be widened. To this end, I suggested a distinction between naturally simplified input and pedagogically simplified input and with regard to the latter a further distinction between graded input and input as dependent exemplification. I have also pointed out that discussions of the value of simplified input need to distinguish the part that it plays in comprehension from its role in acquisition. These distinctions will hopefully refine the questions that we need to address in both a research agenda and in language teaching.

It is clearly premature to come to any definite conclusions regarding which type of simplified input is most beneficial. The three studies by Temple University students which have been reported in this paper lend support to the theoretical claims of Long and others that naturally simplified input is particularly important for acquisition - at least in the case of vocabulary. The opportunity to interact around unknown lexical items seems to provide the conditions not only for comprehending their meaning but also for acquiring them. In this respect it seems to work better than pedagogically simplified input. But we do not know yet whether such input is more efficient in the long term. Nor do we yet know what kinds of interactional modifications provide the best naturally simplified input for purposes of learning. In Tanaka's and Yamazaki's studies, it was requests for clarification that triggered the necessary adjustments. However, other topic incorporation devices, such as confirmation requests and comprehension checks may work equally well. Also, we do not know whether naturally simplified input works as well for acquiring new grammatical features as it does for vocabulary. Indeed, recent studies of immersion programmes in Canada (e.g. Swain, 1985)

suggest that even when learners have plentiful opportunities to interact in the classroom, they do not appear to learn the more marked grammatical features of the target language. It could be the case, therefore, that naturally simplified input is good for learning certain types of items (e.g. those that are crucially meaning-bearing) but not so good for learning others (e.g. those that are redundant in the sense that they do not contribute strongly to the meaning content of an utterance). This, however, is speculative.

It would also be mistaken to suggest that pedagogically simplified input of the kind found in readers is of no use to learners. It clearly is of great use. First, it helps comprehension - and this, in itself, is sufficient to justify its use in language teaching. West (1950) is surely right when he commented:

> Simplification and abridgement have brought to life not a few books which, for the foreign reader and the English school child, would be otherwise completely dead.

It would also seem likely that pedagogically simplified input helps acquisition, although this remains to be clearly demonstrated, even where vocabulary is concerned[5]. Many learners will have only limited opportunities to experience naturally simplified input. Such learners will be largely dependent on reading and listening material which they use on their own. Thus, even if naturally simplified input is best, most learners will probably have to make do with second-best, and this is surely pedagogically simplified input rather than the input found in 'authentic' texts intended for native speakers (cf. Vincent, 1986).

Finally, it needs to be acknowledged that neither naturally simplified input nor pedagogically simplified input are monolithic phenomena. Each type varies enormously. There are many devices available to speakers to deal with problems of understanding that arise in unplanned discourse and the selections they make will affect the input that becomes available to the learner. Similarly, there are different ways of going about pre-simplifying a text, as reflected in the rich literature on preparing graded readers. We need to be aware, then, that comparing the effectiveness of one type of simplified input with another is not a simple undertaking.

Notes

1. As Davies (1984) points out simplicity is a difficult notion because what is 'simple' linguistically may not be 'simple' psycholinguistically. 'Simplified input' in this paper refers only to the idea of linguistically simple, as one of the questions addressed is whether such input is psycholinguistically simple in the sense that it facilitates comprehension and learning. Also, as Widdowson (1978) has noted, the notion of 'simplified input' implies that there is some kind of 'source' which has been made simple (intentionally or without conscious intention). However, the term 'simplified input' is not intended to suggest that a 'source' has been adapted in some way in this paper. Rather it refers to what Widdowson calls a 'simple account', with the one difference that here it includes spoken as well as written language.

2. The distinction between experiential and analytic approaches to language teaching also involves differences in the kind of output that learners are required to produce. In the case of experiential language teaching, learners' production occurs in the context of activities that call for a focus on the content of the message (i.e. functional practice), while in analytic language teaching production occurs in the context of activities that call for a focus on the code (i.e. formal practice).

3. It is not intended to suggest that because learners receive simplified input in the course of message-oriented activities that they do not engage periodically in some kind of analysis of the code used to convey the message. Indeed, it is arguable that for acquisition (as opposed for comprehension) to take place learners must notice and analyse code features.

4. There is evidence to suggest that interactional adjustments occur more frequently in two-way information exchange activities if the activities are carried out in small group work rather than in teacher-fronted lessons (Pica and Doughty, 1985).

5. Unfortunately the studies by Tanaka and Yamazaki did not provide information regarding the relative effects of baseline vs pedagogically simplified input on the learners' vocabulary acquisition.

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WHAT'S SIMPLE IN SIMPLIFIED LANGUAGE?

Kenneth S Goodman and David Freeman

Introduction

Various methods for teaching second language have been based on the assumption that learning is made easier by somehow simplifying what it is the student must learn. In the audio-lingual method (ALM), for example, dialogues are carefully constructed to contain only certain verb tenses and specific syntactic structures. In Suggestopedia each session focuses on particular vocabulary items. In notional-functional approaches, the language in a particular lesson may be limited to forms used for apologies or greetings. While the basis for simplification is different in each case, the underlying assumption is the same: language is easier to learn if the teacher or materials writer limits some aspect of the language for the learner.

Simplification is not unique to second language methods and materials. The programs designed to teach school literacy are also limited in the hope that narrowing what the student must learn will make the task of learning easier. The clearest case of materials simplification occurs with basal reading programs. In these programs, stories are often written to contain a restricted range of vocabulary or syntactic structures (Goodman, Shannon, Freeman and Murphy, 1988).

Those who develop methods or materials that simplify language often justify the limitations by observing that children developing their first language or people learning a second language produce what appear to be simplified language forms. For example, children starting to write often use one letter to represent a whole word or, later, a whole syllable. In the same way, children beginning to speak their first language, as well as students of a second language, may omit function words and rely on nouns and verbs, leaving off inflections.

Although the language children and second language learners produce differs from conventional adult forms, this does not imply that these learners have simplified the language. Simplification involves having a full command of the language and then choosing to limit the forms or functions to be used. Simplification is what materials developers and methods writers do. It is not what children and second language learners do. Furthermore, one must know a great deal about language to make it simpler without making it artificial, inauthentic, and

harder to make sense of. The process of simplification often makes learning harder and creates misconceptions about language.

Language develops from whole to part. Learners begin with a sense of the whole and gradually differentiate out the parts as they build a sense of the structure. This helps account for early spelling or speech production that is limited, spellings where one letter represents a whole word, or speech in which one word represents a whole idea. Over time, children and second language learners are able to attend to and represent more details. In writing, children use more letters for each word, and in speech, language learners use progressively more words to present an idea. During this process, what learners need is an enriched context that supports their efforts to make sense out of what they are learning. Teachers can support learning by keeping students engaged with functional language and helping them see that language can make sense.

The Goodmans have elaborated an important dichotomy in learning, particularly language learning. Invention, personal construction of language and concepts, is the creative force in all learning. Learners invent rules, grammars, concepts, schema, and ways of organizing new experiences and seeing their world. But they do this within a social world that provides conventions for these same functions. As the personal inventions encounter social conventions, a tension develops which eventually results in an equilibrium, and learning advances. And in a broader sense all social conventions start with personal inventions, and all inventions draw on the resources of the conventions of the social community (Goodman, 1991).

Second language learners' inventions show the influence of their first language and primary culture, that is, they use these as resources in inventing the language and culture they are moving into. But they must experience whole second language texts in authentic contexts to experience fully the conventions of the new language and culture. Presenting children struggling to become literate in their first language with simplified, artificial texts or presenting second language learners with inauthentic, simplified language is not helpful. In both cases we need to encourage invention and help our pupils to test their inventions against real language conventions, not distorted ones we create in the name of simplification.

When teachers organize classrooms and adopt practices that present authentic language in rich contexts, learning the conventions of language becomes easier. In the sections that follow, we consider in more detail the effects of an enriched context on the acquisition of conventional language.

Cummins View of Language Proficiency

Simplification of texts or tasks is generally designed to promote the development of language proficiency and academic achievement. Two important questions, then, are "What is the nature of language proficiency? and "Does simplification lead to higher levels of proficiency?" Cummins (1981, 1989) has differentiated between two kinds of language proficiency. Conversational proficiency is the ability to use language in face to face communication while academic proficiency is the ability to carry out school related literacy tasks. To explain the difference between academic and conversational proficiency, Cummins developed a theoretical framework that places any instance of language into one of the four quadrants of the chart presented here as Figure 1.

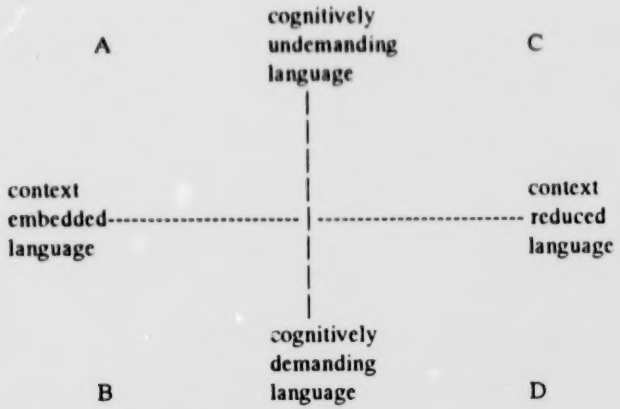

Figure 1 (Cummins, 1981, p. 12)

Cummins found that it took immigrant students about two years to develop conversational proficiency (quadrant A) but five to seven years to reach grade level norms in academic tasks (quadrant D). A closer examination of the two scales Cummins uses to define language proficiency provides useful insights into questions of the effects of simplification on increasing proficiency.

Context-embedded and Context-reduced Language

In Figure 1 the horizontal scale places instances of language use along a continuum from context-embedded to context-reduced. Cummins describes context-embedded communication as deriving from "interpersonal involvement in a shared reality that reduces the need for explicit linguistic elaboration of the message" (1981, p. 11). In context-reduced communication, on the other hand, "that shared reality can not be assumed and thus linguistic messages must be elaborated precisely and explicitly" (p. 11). Cummins' continuum of context-embedded to context-reduced reflects the range from conversational language to academic language, which requires "the ability to make complex meanings explicit in either oral or written modalities by means of language itself rather than by means of paralinguistic cues" (Cummins, 1980, p. 30).

Cummins emphasizes that in order to facilitate the development of academic proficiency, teachers must begin by providing context-embedded instruction: "academic growth will be fostered by context-embedded instruction that validates students' background experiences by encouraging them to express, share and amplify these experiences" (p. 29). Rather than simplifying language, then, Cummins suggests that the role of the teacher is to embed language in meaningful context, that is, to provide authentic language events.

Providing Context to Support Language Development

One way to embed language in context is to provide the kind of extra-linguistic support found in authentic language use. For example, if two children on the playground are talking about who is going to use the swing first, their conversation is embedded in the situational context. The extralinguistic cues include objects such as the swing and actions such as pointing as well as gestures and intonation cues.

Second language teachers know that the greater the contextual support provided by objects and actions, the lower the necessity for students to rely solely on their new language itself. In traditional language classes teachers frequently provide extralinguistic cues by developing lessons around things and people found in the classroom including the teacher and students themselves. Further, teachers may bring objects from home into the classroom or ask students to bring things in to talk about. "Show and tell" is popular in both mainstream and ESL classrooms with good reason.

When conversations are about things or people that are not present, teachers can still provide context by bringing in pictures that show people and places outside the classroom. If they are reading to students, they may use big books that contain illustrations all the students can see. Acting out situations that do not occur naturally in the classroom is another way teachers can provide context. Such role play allows students to communicate without having to rely solely on the words that are spoken. Further, teachers may use gestures, such as holding a hand to their ear to mimic talking on the telephone, and, in this way, use gestures to enrich the context.

In some cases the only context available is linguistic. Cummins uses the term "context-reduced" rather than "decontextualized" to describe cases in which the primary source of context is the language itself. He recognizes that language offers a range of possible contextual support. The more cohesive and coherent the language is, the easier it is to understand. Unadapted stories are usually easier to understand than simplified texts. When texts are simplified by using readability formulas that measure word or sentence lengths, words that connect ideas are often omitted to produce shorter sentences. As a result, attempts at simplification actually make texts more difficult to read by making them less cohesive and providing readers with fewer cues.

An expository text or a lecture is easier to follow if there is an introduction that outlines the main points. Stories are easier to comprehend if they follow a familiar pattern. Children who have heard many stories learn these patterns. Often stories begin with "Once upon a time...", a problem arises and usually there is a resolution with a happy ending. This intertextuality makes each subsequent text more predictable. Stories that are simplified violate text structures and are less predictable.

Teachers of second language students may also use the students' first language to provide contextual support for the second language. Bilingual teachers often use a method called preview, view, and review. In the first phase, they preview the lesson in the students' first language. This helps ensure that the students understand the big picture. It helps them follow the "view", the actual lesson conducted in their second language. Finally, the teacher may provide additional context for the lesson by reviewing the main concepts again in the first language.

A summary of the kinds of possible contextual support for communication is represented in Figure 2.

Language		
Context-embedded		Context-reduced
Extralinguistic cues provided by situation, objects or actions.	Linguistic cues provided by use of cohesive, coherent language.	Language lacks linguistic or extralinguistic cues.
Teacher uses role play realia, or pictures, and gestures.	Teacher uses stories with predictable patterns, outlines, and story maps.	
Teacher supports students' first language		

Figure 2

This figure suggests that teachers facilitate language learning when they keep authentic language in context by providing either extralinguistic or linguistic cues. Simplification, on the other hand, only serves to reduce the context, and this makes learning more difficult. The importance of the role of context in developing language proficiency becomes more apparent when we examine the way in which context is related to cognitive demand.

Cognitively Demanding Language

The second dimension Cummins uses in Figure 1 to define language proficiency is a continuum from cognitively-undemanding to cognitively-demanding. Cummins explains that this continuum "is intended to address the developmental aspects of communicative competence in terms of the degree of active cognitive involvement in the task or activity" (p. 12). At an early stage, an activity may require a high level of cognitive involvement. Over time, as the task is mastered, the activity becomes more automatic, and the cognitive demand lessens. The scale is intended to be developmental in that a task that is demanding at one stage becomes less demanding at a later stage. For example, certain aspects of phonology or syntax are very demanding for a three year old but relatively undemanding for a six year old. In the same way, when a person acquires a second language, tasks that are at first cognitively demanding are later less demanding.

Cummins equates cognitive demand with the amount of conscious attention required by a task. This aspect of proficiency is developmental in that familiarity with a task makes it less demanding. For example, when learning to drive a car, a person must focus a great deal of conscious attention on details such as steering, engaging the clutch, and shifting. Fairly soon, these tasks become automatic, and the driver's mind is freed to concentrate on other matters. After a long trip, we might arrive at our destination having solved a complex academic problem and realize that we can scarcely remember any of the actual details of driving the car. Because we drive frequently, driving occupies little conscious attention.

Although performing a task frequently may reduce cognitive demand, this should not suggest that we can simplify learning through use of repetitive tasks with simplified materials. We learn to drive a car by actually driving a car, and if we drive frequently, we do so because driving serves a real function for us. Cummins, in his later work, argues strongly against programs such as Distar which rely heavily on repetition. His use of the terms "automatic" and "mastery" in discussion of the difference between cognitively-undemanding and cognitively-demanding tasks is not based on a belief in a connectionist model of learning. While Cummins rejects such neo- behaviorist views, many second language teachers still follow practices consistent with connectionism. These practices often utilize simplified materials and drilling to achieve mastery.

Connectionism has its basis in Thorndike's laws of learning, grounded in behavioral psychology. In connectionist learning theory it is argued that the degree of association varies directly with the vividness of the experience, its frequency, its duration and its recency to the retention test. Associative bonds are built up through practice. The bonds (stimulus-response connections) are strengthened when the stimulus is vivid, when there is a greater number of practices, and when each practice event lasts longer. The results of learning will fade over time, so the strength of association will show up most clearly when the test of retention is close to the practice session.

Simplification of language in second language methods follows from connectionist theories of learning. Reducing the scope of the language to be learned is seen as a way to make the stimulus more vivid. A good example of a method of teaching reading based on connectionist theory is provided by Gaskins (Gaskins, Gaskins, & Gaskins, 1991): "The program is teacher-directed and grounded in an explicit instruction model. Each day teachers clearly tell students what they are going to teach, why it is important, when it can be used, and how to use it. The teachers then model the process. After that there is group and individual guided

practice with teacher feedback. The program keeps both the teacher and students involved for every minute of the 20 minute lesson. All activities are designed for every-pupil response and teacher feedback to students" (p. 215).

Second language teaching methods also reflect an underlying belief in connectionist learning theory. Brumfit (Brumfit, 1979) has described traditional second language teaching as a three step process that follows this model: present -> drill -> practice in context. Shifts towards a more communicative methodology have rearranged this sequence by beginning with more authentic communication, but the presentation, drill, and practice-in-context sequence generally follows any attempts at real communication in most classes. The assumption is that greater amounts of practice will make aspects of language more automatic. Practice is facilitated by simplifying and carefully sequencing the aspects of language to be mastered.

While much current teaching practice reflects a belief in a connectionist model of learning, recent research in cognitive psychology has called this model into question. Pinkard and Prince attempted a computer simulation of human learning based on the assumption that humans learn as the result of forming associations among stimuli. This connectionist model was tested on the learning of the past tense form for verbs. The researchers found that the computer could not generate the kinds of rules about past tense that children create. The computer "couldn't represent some past tense words, it couldn't learn many of the rules children learn, and it could learn rules that no child would learn" (Murphy, 1991, p.201-2).

This research in cognitive psychology fails to support the idea that language learning is the result of forming associative bonds. Nevertheless, we must still explain the common experience that many aspects of language acquisition that we struggle with at first become much less demanding later. One way to account for the developmental nature of language acquisition is to consider more carefully the relationship between Cummins' ideas of cognitive demand and context.

The Relationship Between Context and Cognitive Demand

Context is often viewed as something external to the learner. However, if the concept of context can include both external context (the swings on the playground) and internal context (previous experience or background knowledge), then the relationship between Cummins' ideas of context-embedded language and cognitively-demanding language becomes clearer. Our previous experience or

background knowledge serves as a context for each subsequent instance of language use. We can use background to make sense of new ideas, so we find those ideas less cognitively demanding. Even when there is no external contextual support, if we can make use of an internal support system developed through previous experience, tasks demand less conscious attention.

This helps explain why certain subjects are not, in themselves, necessarily more cognitively demanding than other subjects. It is true that some subjects are more complex than others. Calculus is harder than algebra. Further, in order to study some topics it is helpful to study other topics first. However, while different topics have different potentials for the demands they might put on a person, the demand a particular topic makes depends as well on a person's previous experiences with that topic. The closer the topic to the individual's personal experiences, the less demanding that topic. In other words, background knowledge is an intervening variable mediating cognitive demand. To a mathematician, both algebra and calculus may seem quite easy.

Consider the following example of how previous experience interacts with cognitive demand. If we have lived all our lives in a country such as the U.S. where temperatures are given in Fahrenheit, it is not cognitively demanding for us to decide what to wear when someone reports that the temperature outside is 22 degrees. However, if we travel to Canada and someone reports that the temperature is 22, we have more mental work to do. We have to make some connection between the Fahrenheit scale and Celsius scale to relate our past experiences. We can figure out what to wear, but the task is more cognitively demanding because we lack the necessary background, and schema.

In Cummins' framework shown in Figure 1 there are two scales. This suggests that context and cognitive demand are independent variables. Wald (1984), who has suggested that Cummins' framework does not adequately address sociolinguistic factors associated with the development of language proficiency, notes that the framework "weds the seemingly social concept of context-embedding with the psychological concept of cognitive demand" (p. 62). Whole language approaches to literacy are frequently labelled "socio-psycholinguistic" because there is the recognition that individual psychological processes always occur in a social context. If Cummins' horizontal scale may be thought to reflect social factors and the vertical scale embodies psychological factors, as Wald suggests, it should be possible to collapse the two axes into a single scale. Our background knowledge helps determine how cognitively demanding a subject is, and background knowledge can be considered as part of the context, so language that is context-

embedded is less cognitively demanding than language which is context-reduced, and the two concepts may be represented as shown in Figure 3.

Cog. undemanding language----------> Cog. demanding language		
Context-embedded		Context-reduced
the learner uses external cues provided by things, people, or language.	the learner has internalized external cues and can use this background knowledge even when external cues are not present.	the learner is not yet able to use external cues and has not yet constructed internal cues to provide background knowledge.

Figure 3

Figure 3 suggests that as we learn something, whether it is a new language or a new subject, we rely at first on external cues. Over time, presented with similar settings or texts, we learn which features to attend to - we discover the conventional patterns. Eventually, we grow less dependent on the external context. We have built an internal context, our background knowledge, which helps us make sense of new things we see or hear or read. We are better able to make sense of new information by relating it to things we already know. To the degree that we can use information from the external situation or from our internal background knowledge, language is relatively context-embedded and, as a result, relatively cognitively undemanding. Simplifying language or tasks limits the range of cues available to provide context and build background. On the other hand, providing greater context facilitates learning.

Stephen Krashen (1982) has hypothesized that we acquire a language when we receive comprehensible input, which he defines as messages that we understand. We only understand messages in a new language when the cognitive demand is below a certain threshold. Second language teachers make input comprehensible by embedding it at first in a rich extralinguistic context. Over time, students begin to build an internal representation of the language they are studying, a specialized background knowledge, that allows them to make sense of messages even when they are not context-embedded. Making input comprehensible by increasing extralinguistic context is different from simplification of the linguistic cues. Because simplification reduces the range of cues available, the process makes it more difficult for students to develop the background knowledge needed to understand the full range of natural language.

Goodman (1984) argues that much of learning involves making predictions. We use all available cues to reduce our uncertainty and confirm our predictions. Here again, there is a connection between context and cognitive demand. The more cues that are available, internal or external, the less uncertainty there is to reduce and the less cognitively demanding is the task. It is easier to make successful predictions when we have adequate background knowledge. Our individual inventions reach an equilibrium with social conventions.

For example, my knowledge of English phonotactics makes it fairly easy for me to predict which word can be formed by unscrambling the letters "h, c, l, a, k." I know that the normal pattern for English words is CVC, so I place the "a" in the middle. Further, I know that there are only certain consonant clusters that can begin and end words. Words often end in "ck" and few English words begin with "kl." Even though phonotactic knowledge helps me unscramble "chalk," the task is still context-reduced because I am dealing with a word in isolation. It would be easier to predict the word if it appeared in a story as part of the line, "The teacher picked up the _____ and wrote on the blackboard." In fact, I don't really need the letter cues to make an accurate prediction in this context because the sentence reduces my uncertainty and allows easy prediction. This example demonstrates keeping language in authentic context is more effective than simplifying the language for making input comprehensible.

Conclusion

Traditional methods of both first and second language teaching have commonly relied on simplification. Simplification involves restricting the range of language forms and functions to be learned and then practicing those forms to achieve mastery. Methods that rely on simplification and practice for mastery are based on connectionist theories of learning. They fail to consider seriously the questions of how language develops in natural contexts, what language proficiency consists of, and whether simplification facilitates proficiency.

Jim Cummins has argued that two variables, context and cognitive demand, may be used to describe various kinds of language proficiency. He distinguishes between conversational proficiency, which is context-embedded and cognitively-undemanding language, and academic proficiency, which involves context-reduced and cognitively-demanding language. His research has shown that it takes immigrant students about two years to develop conversational proficiency in a new language but five to seven years to achieve academic proficiency.

Cummins (1989) argues that the best way for students to develop academic proficiency is through activities that involve authentic language, not through exercises with context-reduced language. In this respect, simplification of language, which serves to reduce context, would not be called for. Wald (1984) suggests that the two dimensions of language proficiency in Cummins' framework represent psychological and social aspects of language. He argues that social factors are extremely important in the process of language development.

Much current research in literacy is based on a socio-psycholinguistic model of learning and development. There is the recognition that all psychological processes occur in social contexts and it is the tension between individual invention and social convention that leads to learning. Cummins' two scales, representing the social and the psychological, may be reduced to a single scale by considering that background knowledge or previous experience forms an internal context. Learners use both internal and external contextual cues to develop concepts in a process of using cues to make and confirm predictions. From this view of the development of language and the nature of language proficiency, attempts at simplification make learning more difficult. Students develop both linguistic and academic proficiency more easily when teachers provide authentic language in context so that students can test their individual inventions against the social conventions of the full range of natural language.

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PART III

Teaching Casual Conversation: The Issue of Simplification
Diana Slade and Rod Gardner

Simply Defining
Constructing a Dictionary of Language Testing
Alan Davies

Simplification in Student Writing
A Chandrasegaran

Responding to Task Difficulty: What is Involved in Adjusting the Relationship between Learners and Learning Experiences?
John Honeyfield

TEACHING CASUAL CONVERSATION: THE ISSUE OF SIMPLIFICATION

Diana Slade and Rod Gardner

Introduction

Casual conversation is a fundamental human activity which all of us indulge in daily and it is critical in the establishment and maintenance of human relationships. Palmer (Palmer & Redman 1932) argued that language is based on and is an extension of conversation and added that conversation must be the start of a study of language. However, in the decades that followed, the description of language was based on the written word and the sentence was taken as the major unit. This emphasis was reflected in language teaching materials. Only recently has there been a renewed interest and awareness of the importance of the study of conversation and a realisation that this study is essential for any real understanding of the nature and description of language in use.

Despite this growing interest language teaching still does not deal with the teaching of casual conversation in any really effective or systematic way. Most teaching materials do not adequately reflect the nature of casual conversation in English, either because they use constructed data or simplified dialogues (partly reflecting the overwhelming tendency in theoretical studies of conversation to focus on dialogue, not multilogue) or because the situational context, as with most notional/functional textbooks, is invented to provide a vehicle for the target function or structure. In each case these are immediately recognisable as different from naturally occurring language precisely because they leave out many of the essential features of informal spoken English.

In this paper we will focus on the issue of whether pedagogical mediation will facilitate the acquisition of conversational skills. We will be arguing that it is possible to describe casual conversation, that it does have a structure and that it is not formless and ungrammatical as has been argued (for example Beattie 1983), and therefore that it is of benefit to ESL learners for the structure of conversation to be explicitly dealt with.

The two central issues when discussing the teaching of casual conversation are, first, whether to simplify the language input or to use authentic data, and second, whether in fact it is more effective to have no input, but to engage learners in tasks and activities in the classroom that will generate conversation. First we will explore the nature of casual conversation in English, the intention not being to do this in detail, as this has been done elsewhere (Brown and Yule 1983, Crystal and Davy 1975, Slade and Gardner 1987, Slade 1986), but to highlight those aspects that have particular relevance to the question of pedagogical application. We will then outline some of the differences between classroom discourse and conversational discourse in order to demonstrate that learner-learner interaction, although valuable for other reasons, is not a sufficient basis for the teaching of casual conversation. The paper then goes on to claim that the syllabus input should use examples of authentic conversational interaction, with any simplification being in methodology: in other words in the choice and nature of the task or activity, rather than in the selection of language input. In the final section we will provide suggestions for teaching casual conversation, focussing on an analysis of real language data: of casual conversations at the workplace.

The Nature of Casual Conversation in English

Halliday et al (1985) define casual conversation as person-oriented dialogue where three features of conversation in general are absent in casual conversation. Firstly, in casual conversation the topic is not controlled but drifts as the conversation proceeds. Secondly, inequality is temporarily neutralised. Thirdly, there is no formal mechanism in casual conversation for assigning turns of talk. In summary:

1. There are topics - but no topic control;
2. There are interactants - but no status relations;
3. There are turns - but no turn assignment.

(ibid.:20)

One of the problems with describing casual conversation, both at the level of theory and practice, has been the level of generality of this category. As a result some investigations, for example the work of the ethnomethodologists, focus on isolated fragments of conversation which then make it difficult to posit general principles by which other conversational material can be analysed (for an elaboration of this argument, see Edmondson, 1981: 50-52). Without general principles, it is not possible to see how their work can by exploited for language teaching.

So to make the study of casual conversation less fragmentary and anecdotal it is necessary to distinguish between varieties of casual conversation. In order to do so Poynton's categories for describing personal tenor can be used. These are:

1. The POWER relationships between interactants
2. The FREQUENCY OF CONTACT between interactants; and
3. The AFFECTIVE INVOLVEMENT between interactants

(Poynton 1984: 24-26)

As Eggins has argued, by using these variables it is possible to distinguish for example between casual conversations during a dinner party amongst close friends (see Eggins 1990) where there is high affective involvement and high frequency of contact, and service encounters (see Ventola 1983) where there is low affective involvement and low frequency of contact, and workplace coffee breaks (see Slade 1989) where there is low affective involvement but high contact. These variables then provide a systematic way of differentiating sub-varieties of casual conversation and make it possible to make more rigorous generalisations about what language is likely to occur in these contexts. For example Slade (1989) argues that the data she taped during coffee breaks at three different workplaces is motivated by the exploration of similarity, that is, that the underlying functional motivation of much of the talk in these contexts where people are getting to know each other is to establish shared attitudes and values, to discuss likes and dislikes. This is in contrast to Eggins (1990) data of close friends which she demonstrates is motivated more by the exploration of difference. When describing her conversations Eggins argues that what keeps conversational exchanges going 'is NOT the discovery of unity or accord, but on the contrary the discovery of disunity or disagreement' (p 296).

It is the underlying motivation or the social purpose of such talk that not only determines the text structure and language that will be used, but also what topics are likely to occur. That is, a detailed comparison of Eggin's data of close friends at a dinner party with Slade's data of coffee-break conversations amongst work colleagues, shows that there is a significant difference, not only in what topics or text-types were appropriate, but in the way those were structured (see Slade, 1989). So once criteria have been identified that can be used to specify sub-varieties of the general category of casual conversation, it is then possible to make sharper descriptions, for example one can go some way towards specifying what topics and text-types are likely to occur in this context, and then on a greater scale of delicacy what the text structure and lexicogrammar are likely to be.

Defining the sub-varieties of casual conversation makes the task of designing ESL material for teaching informal spoken English more manageable: it is now possible based on an analysis of the needs of the particular learners to deal with particular sub-varieties (e.g. casual conversation at work), and within these to select the text-types to be focused on. This will be expanded on below.

We will now turn to two important considerations when discussing the teaching of casual conversation: first, whether spoken language is in fact simpler than writing, and if so, in what ways; and second, the crucial issue of the identification of units in conversation. There is a frequent misconception that speaking is simpler than writing, and that spoken language by contrast with written is formless and grammatically unsophisticated. It is claimed that it is ungrammatical and unsystematic and therefore in its authentic form is impossible to teach. This is not so. Spoken language is highly organised and grammatically intricate though in a way which is quite different from written language.

Both speech and writing make use of complex linguistic patterns, but the complexity tends to be of different kinds. As Halliday (1985) explains, the complexity of spoken language is grammatical, it tends to be grammatically more intricate than written. After speakers have departed from quick short turns and take a longer turn, very long utterances will be produced with clause added to clause in a very complex way. Halliday refers to this as grammatical intricacy. In writing, on the other hand, the complexity is lexical, large numbers of context words are typically packed into a single clause. Halliday refers to this as lexical density, and it basically refers to the proportion of content words to the total discourse.

So what learners will find difficult with written English is, therefore, not so much the clause structure, but what can be difficult is the highly information-packed and lexically dense passages of writing. The corollary of this is that what is difficult for ESL learners with spontaneous conversations is not the lexical items, as often these are very general and non-specific, with nominations being used far less than in writing, but the grammatical structuring is what can cause problems. And added to this is the fact that much of spoken interaction is jointly produced discourse, where speakers interrupt, frequently change topics, and where not only the choice of topics can be quite culturally specific, but also the turn-taking signals, the feedback mechanisms and the linguistic indicators of change of topics can cause difficulties and misunderstandings for ESL learners.

The second issue then, of equal importance to both theory and application, is what are the units we are dealing with when analysing text[1]. One way of approaching this has been to use the concept of genre. In Systemic-Functional theory this has been developed by Hasan (1985) and Martin (1985). In Variation Theory the notion of text-type, which corresponds to the notion of genre, has been central to much of Labov's work on discourse.

Martin defines genre as 'staged, goal oriented purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture' (1985: 25). Less technically, it is the way we make meanings with each other in steps to achieve our purposes. There are as many different genres as there are recognisable social activity types in our culture. There are popular written genres such as instructional texts, newspaper articles, magazine reports, experimental procedures etc, and there is an enormous range of everyday genres that we take part in in our daily lives, such as buying and selling, narrating, gossiping and exchanging opinions. All of these genres are ways of exchanging meanings to achieve some purpose.

Martin refers to the overall patterning of texts as the generic structure, and it is a realisation of the social purpose of the text.

For example, Slade has found that gossip texts in casual conversation among acquaintances at work have this generic structure[2]:

Third Person Focus^[Substantiating Behaviour^{Pejorative Evaluation}^(Wrap up)]*

(Probe)

These patterns represent the overall text structure, and it is because of those obligatory stages that we recognize a stretch of text as gossip.

Most of the work on using the notion of genre or text types as one of the units of analysis has been on written text (for example Martin and Rothery 1986, on expository and factual texts), pedagogic discourse, narratives elected for a sociolinguistic interview (e.g. Labov and Waletzky 1966) and interviews (e.g. Labov and Waletzky 1966 and Plum 1988), and service encounters (e.g. Ventola, 1983).

In the final section we will look at the application of generic analysis to the description of actual casual conversational data, and we will highlight those aspects of analysis relevant to teaching.

Classroom Discourse and Casual Conversation

In this section we will look at characteristic classroom interaction, in particular learner-learner interaction, in order to demonstrate that it is not a sufficient basis for the teaching of casual conversation. By looking at the language of classrooms and in particular the language of learner-learner interaction, we hope to demonstrate that in many significant ways this is different from casual conversation spoken outside the classroom. We will argue, therefore, that it is very useful to set up tasks and activities that engage learners in meaningful interaction, but that this is not sufficient in itself, and that if aspects of casual conversation have been explicitly dealt with, by modelling, listening texts etc, then the learners will be better equipped to put these newly learnt language skills into use in a range of activities.

Classroom discourse occurs within a specific institutional setting, with its own norms, rules, roles and relationships, with specific turn-taking conventions, and it will realise a distinctive discourse (see Levinson 1983, Stubbs 1983). Teacher-centred classrooms have a type of discourse about which a reasonable amount is known, for one because of the pioneering work of the Birmingham discourse analysts with their research in classrooms (see Sinclair and Coulthard 1975, Coulthard 1977), and also because of a body of research in the United States (for summaries of this work, see Chaudron 1988, van Lier 1988a). However, we do not intend to consider teacher-centred, traditional classroom discourse, as it is so obviously different from both casual conversation and learner-learner classroom interaction (see, for example, Cazden 1988). It clearly cannot serve as a model.

On the other hand, learner-learner interaction in pairs, small groups and whole class discussions appears to be much more like casual conversation. It could be argued that group and pair work with carefully selected tasks and activities can provide interactional practice for the acquisition of conversational skills (see, for example, Brown 1991 and Long 1990, for some criteria that can be applied to the selection of tasks) and as such can go some way towards modelling such skills. Cazden (1988) says that with free discussions, for example, there is more self-selection by students and more local management of turn-taking, and the discourse resembles 'informal' conversation more, but that it is 'not the same as conversation, because there is still a large group of potential speakers and the educational necessity to stick to the agenda' (p 65-66). And, as we point out below, there are important differences, too. Free discussion or small group work falls short of providing adequate practice for the acquisition of such skills.

In fact, it can be demonstrated that learner-learner interaction is different in important ways from casual conversation. An ethnographic description (cf Saville-Troike 1988) of the classroom will reveal this. In casual conversation, there is an almost imperceptible drift from one *topic* to another (see Sacks, cited in Coulthard 1977). The following example of a coffee break conversation illustrates this[3]. (Collected by Gardner, 1982).

	S;	... (10.0) So what are we doing now
		.. Going home
	A;	I think so yes
		.. I don't know what else to do actually
→		... And the next essay is waiting for me
	S;	@@@ .. @
	A;	Lying round in a corner longing to see me again
	C;	... I think XX
→		... (3.5) But why are you working so hard
		.. Who pushes you

One also finds more radical changes in topic, as in the following example.

	S;	One day dark hair the other day purple hair
		.. you know .. next day pink hair
	K;	@@
	S;	... (3.0) Sometimes rainbows colours why not
→	C;	... (6.5) Did you check your er flight your flight

The topic in the classroom, on the other hand, is usually chosen, or at least restricted by the teacher. Even in learner-learner interaction, the constraints on topic are considerable. In our recordings of such lessons, the topic is constantly being pulled back to the point of the activity. In other words, the classroom has a topical agenda.

The primary *purpose* of casual conversation is social, the establishing or maintaining of social relations. Characteristic genres of casual conversation are phatic talk, gossip, anecdotes, jokes, and narratives drawn from personal experience. Such genres are rarely or only peripherally found in the classroom, where the purpose is to learn certain content or skills, and where the discourse is task- rather than person-oriented.

Casual conversation can occur in almost any *setting*, i.e. almost anywhere, indoors or out. In fact the range of possible settings is endless. The setting in the classroom, on the other hand, is a specific one, with characteristic objects and arrangements of these objects. As Saville-Troike (1988) says, 'the physical setting of an event may call for the use of a different variety of language' (p 74-75).

The *key*, i.e. the emotional tone of the discourse, in casual conversation has high affective involvement (see Poynton 1984). It is often characterised by friendly conflict where close friends are involved (see Eggins 1990, Tannen 1984). In the classroom, in contrast, affective involvement is not sanctioned: certain affects or attitudes, such as anger, strong disagreement, misery, will be considered inappropriate, being clearly marked as incongruous. Prosody, a major carrier of affective messages, is also generally neutral in classrooms. Our classroom corpus also has much less laughter than is found in the casual conversation data.

In terms of the *participants*, the relations between teacher and students are, of course, essentially unequal, those between students equal. Even when an effort is made to exploit the neutral power relations between learners, through the use of carefully selected classroom tasks, the teacher remains in control.

In terms of the *message form*, classroom discourse is peppered with metalanguage. Such overt focus is much less common in casual conversation, and when it occurs, it is dealt with differently, where, for example, participants are more likely to self-correct, and then return quickly to the topic.

Classrooms also have their specific *rules of interaction*, their classroom conventions. These may intrude into what are supposedly free discussions, for example when the teacher corrects an error, or asks a question to which she knows the answer. The following illustrates the teacher's power to impose sanctions.

	S1;	But anyway in normal language .. er .. there are a lot of words	
	S2;	Yes XXX Polish too	
→	T;	I'm not going to teach you one more word unless you've got some X to remember it with	((in the background))

A further conversational phenomenon that is realised differently in the classroom from casual conversation is backchanneling, i.e. the feedback indicating, for example, attention or interest, as in the following example from a coffee break conversation.

	J;	... (1.0) to her husband who was then her boyfriend
→	K;	... uh right
	J;	you see, and they got married and --
→	K;	... mm
	J;	and um she said she was happier to stay there than to come over here
→	K;	... oh that's interesting

Whilst backchanneling does occur in language classrooms, in particular in learner-learner interactions, it is encountered less frequently than in casual conversation.

In this section we have argued that not only is traditional teacher-centred classroom discourse very different from casual conversation, but that learner-learner classroom discourse is, too. The extracts illustrate some of these differences. Although evidence is lacking in the literature, it may be assumed that the most learner-centred classrooms in which the most loosely structured tasks are utilised may come closer to authentic casual conversation. However, even if this is the case, we would argue that it would be still more efficient to deal explicitly with features of casual conversation, through the use of authentic texts, listening materials, etc. We now will look at the issue of input and the issue of whether this language input should be authentic or simplified.

Simplification in the Teaching of Conversational Skills

If second language speakers are to learn casual conversation skills, it needs to be asked how this can best be achieved. In this section we consider briefly some difficulties with the notion of simplification. We then consider the notion of simplification in the selection of listening materials, and in the selection of tasks and activities for learner-learner interaction.

What do we mean by simplification? It turns out to be a slippery term. Breen and Candlin (1980) offer a word of warning on this point. They say that 'just as any movement from "simple" to "complex" is a very misleading way of perceiving the relationship between any text and its meaning potential - a simple text may realise complex meaning, and vice-versa - it may be wrong to assume that what may be "simple" for any one learner is likely to be "simple" for all the learners' (p 103). So a text can be seen as complex or simple in the eyes of the reader/listener. This can be further demonstrated in the observation of many students who find texts impenetrable at the beginning of a course, and then can read

them with ease at the end. The nature of complexity in language and in thought and ideas is not the same as in the physical world (cf Popper 1972). In the physical world one can claim with confidence that the human organism is more complex than a bacterium. In the worlds of the mind (thought) and of constructions of the mind (such as language) the nature of simplicity and complexity is different. While it may be possible to make preliminary judgements about the complexity of a text in terms of cohesion, of abstract versus concrete language, of lexical density and so on, such judgements need to be reassessed in the light of what the student brings to the class. In other words, texts for listening can only be chosen with reference to learners, using criteria such as cultural distance, student needs in their daily lives, or the conventions in their own languages in conversational discourse.

The question of simplification is not only one of whether materials should be simplified or not, or as a learner variable, but also one of degree of simplification. On this point, Riley (1985) has pointed out that the increasing use of authentic materials in language teaching has led to some simplified materials becoming closer copies of the real thing. They may be better than highly artificial texts, but they are no substitute for recordings of authentic conversations, in that many essential features of casual conversation are still missing. The only way one can be sure of exposing learners to the full gamut of conversational discourse is through the use of authentic conversations.

However, even if the notion of simplification is so slippery, the fact remains that many teaching materials use texts that are highly deficient in many of the features of casual conversation.

Listening materials *can* provide a model for casual conversation if recordings of authentic casual conversation are used. However, examples of authentic casual conversation in teaching materials are hard to find. Even widely used and up-to-date course books are deficient in this respect. The example below is typical of the way in which casual conversation is designed for teaching informal spoken English. What is most striking is the lack of almost all the features of authentic casual conversation as described above. It is from a course book that is widely used around the world, *Headway Advanced* (Soars and Soars 1989), which has a listening tape with 32 recordings of spoken discourse.

Headway also includes two 'conversations' which aim to focus on casual conversation. We reproduce one here.

A short conversation

W = Woman
M = Man

W We had a lovely time at Jim and Chris's last night.
M Did you? That's nice.
W Jim always cooks such wonderful meals.
M Does he? I didn't realise he could cook.
W He's just finished a Cordon Bleu cookery course at night school.
M Has he? Well, I hope we get invited for dinner soon!
W They said they were going to invite you and Sarah next weekend.
M Are they? That's great - I'll look forward to that.

(Soars and Soars 1989: 149)

This 'conversation' is obviously written to illustrate a language point, and it has hardly any of the characteristics of casual conversation discussed above. Indeed, it lacks many of the characteristics of spoken discourse in general. It is highly artificial and, as a model for casual conversation must be considered highly unsatisfactory. It simply lacks many of the characteristic features outlined above: in terms of lexicogrammar, of topic development, of social purpose, of turn-taking, of key, of backchanneling, it rings false.

Many might argue that authentic conversational input is too difficult for learners. However, it is possible to grade conversation materials, for example by using dialogue before multilogue, by using shorter extracts of conversation with more ordered turn-taking and less disagreement, before using longer texts with stronger disagreement, frequent interruptions, topic change.

One can, then, simplify tasks and activities, and, as Widdowson (1987) suggests, 'remedy by artifice the deficiencies of natural processes' (p 83). This can be done by focussing on particular conversational features, requiring learners to engage, for example, in simultaneous talk, talk in noisy situations, or in large groups. They can also be given practice in making forceful claims for the floor, or given roles with differences in power relations, such as boss and employee, or gatekeeper and client.

Casual Conversation at Work: Some Suggestions for Teaching

In this final section we will bring together the arguments we have discussed in the paper so far by looking at an analysis of real language data: of casual conversations collected by Slade during coffee breaks in three different workplaces, and we will discuss the implications of this analysis for teaching.

The approach we took when analysing the data was to try to identify the text types or genres that occurred in the three groups, and to identify across group variations within each type. What became apparent after the initial analysis was that there were parts of the casual conversation data which were analysable generically and other parts which were not.

A very significant amount of the rapid 'chat' of casual talk does not reveal a generic structure, but there are certainly stretches of language that hang together and make sense. While it is always possible to assign a beginning^(middle)^end structure to any talk (since we always start somewhere, finish and usually do something in between), it is impossible to assign a generic structure to the parts of the "chat" segments that in any way predict the completion of the conversation. That is, one problem in analysing conversations is that it appears to consist of different kinds of talk: what I will call for the moment the *chunks* and the *chat*.

Table 1: Text Types in Coffee-break conversations at work: (across three different groups)

		Nos.	Percentages
1.	Narratives	7	4
2.	Anecdotes	14	8
3.	Recounts	14	8
4.	Observation/Comment	17	10
5.	Opinion	7	4
6.	Joke-telling	4	2
7.	Gossip	8	5
8.	Sending-up	12	7
9.	Chat	87	51

The distribution of the text-types that occurred in the three groups taped are listed according to gender breakdowns elsewhere (see Slade 1989) and so for the purposes of this paper it is sufficient just to list what text-types occurred across the three groups and their frequency. These are listed in Table 1. The significance of this for teaching is firstly that many of the more frequent text-types are rarely represented adequately in language teaching materials, and secondly as can be seen from the table there is a significant proportion of the data that displayed no generic structure - those sections we labelled 'chat'. These also need to be taken into account in questions of pedagogy.

What can be seen immediately is that the most frequently occurring stretch of talk, apart from the 'chat' sections, were the observation/comment genres, the recounts, and the story-telling texts (the anecdotes and narratives). Less frequent were the gossip texts, sending-up, joke-telling, and the opinion-texts.

We will not go into the text-types in detail here (see Slade 1989 for further details), but in Table 2 we list the generic structure of each of the text-types specified in table 1.

Table 2: Generic Structures of Text-types

1. *Narratives* - (Abstract)^(Orientation)^Complication^Evaluation^Resolution^(Coda)
   [Labov and Waletzky 1966]
2. *Anecdotes* - (Abstract)^(Orientation)^Crisis^Reaction^(Coda)^(Completion)
   [Plum 1988]
3. *Recounts* - (Abstract)^Orientation^Record^Reorientation^(Coda)^(Completion)
   [Plum 1988]
4. *O/Comment* - (Orientation)^[Observation^(Comment)]^(Coda)^(Completion)
   [Martin and Rothery 1986]
5. *Opinion* - Opinion^Reaction^(Evidence)^(Resolution)
   [Horvath and Eggins 1986]
6. *Gossip* - Third Person Focus^[Substantiating Behaviour^((Probe))^(Wrap-Up)]^{n} {Pej.Eval}
   [Slade 1989]
7. Joke-telling
8. Sending Up
9. Chat

As each of these genres has a characteristic structure, they can be taught. We will not go into detail here, but the important point to stress is that what distinguishes the stages of generic structure is that they fulfil a functionally distinct role and therefore the lexico-grammatical realisation varies for each stage.

128 BEST COPY AVAILABLE

The implications of this for language teaching should now be clear. There is a proportion of casual conversation, the 'chunks' that can be described generically and about which generalisations can be made, not only about the generic structure, but about the linguistic realisation of these stages. As this structure can be defined, it can therefore, we argue, be taught explicitly. So the syllabus design can have sections on the text-types specified above, for example the materials designed for teaching casual conversation by Slade and Norris (1986) have sections on narratives, opinion texts, gossip etc.

This brings us to the elements of the conversations that we labelled 'chat' - that portion of a conversation that does not display a generic structure. As one reads down the list on Table 2, it becomes less possible with each entry to make a description in generic terms; the more interpersonal meanings are foregrounded, the more inherently dialogic the texts are, the less they are able to be described as text-types with a clear generic structure. So at the one end there are the narratives which display a clear generic structure, and at the other end there is sending-up, which needs to be looked at prosodically, where the elements that are characterised as sending-up are dispersed throughout the text and not realised as discrete stages.

With a generic structure analysis, one models linguistic interaction as structurally complete generalisable wholes. So the generic structure of a text is by definition closed, as it is modelled as a constituent or multivariate structure made up of functionally distinct stages which we can generalize as a beginning^(middle)^end formulation. Thus a generic structure describes discourse structure by analogy with multivariate grammatical structures, such as those of the clause. So what is meant by this is that a beginning^(middle)^end generic structure is a structure of the same kind as sensor^process^phenomenon^circumstances where the elements are 1) distinct in function, 2) realised by distinct classes, and 3) more or less fixed in sequence. And so we are arguing that generic structure is likewise modelled as a multivariate structure. Like all multivariate structures, generic structure is one of completion: elements of schematic structure are functionally distinguished and labelled in terms of their role in bringing the overall interaction to an end.

The limitation with this is that most accounts of text in these models have a synoptic bias which ignores any dynamic or real time aspects of their realisation. It is clear from this that in order to be able to describe conversation, one needs not only to be able to account for the text-types or genres (the macrostructure of conversation, which are amenable to a synoptic description), but that one also needs a model that can approach conversation dynamically, as process. Such a model would need to be able to describe the microstructure of conversation. One model that has attempted to do this is the Eggins model of conversational analysis, and she

has provided a classification of different speech functions, using the move as the basic unit of conversation, and then describing the function of each move (for further details see Eggins 1990)[4]. The aim of this analysis is to capture any relationships that exist between adjacent moves. So the concern is how does one move lead to another.

This is an important model for language teachers, as it gives an analysis that can help look at the dynamic process of conversation - that is it can help account for the 'chat' sections, and by looking at the different speech functions of conversation how one move leads to another.

To summarise, we are arguing that in both theory and practice, in both the teaching and analysis of casual conversation, we need to be able to account for the macro- and microstructure of conversation, that we need to be able to capture both the generically structured 'chunks' of conversation and those aspects of conversation that do not display a generic structure. We need to see conversation as purposeful behaviour, both realised in and instantiating social and cultural context and as a process of making meanings. And as language is the realisation of contextual demands, we need an analysis that can show the relationship of context to text and text to lexico-grammar.

In second language teaching, learners need to be guided in how to predict from generalised contexts what kind of social process or genre they can expect, and then on a greater scale of delicacy what kind of text, and in turn what communicative skills, strategies, lexico-grammar will be appropriate for the realisation of that text. That is, they need to be able to predict what kind of language will be appropriate for the particular situations they will be involved in. So for teaching we are arguing that first, there is a need to specify the variety of casual conversation most relevant to the particular group of learners; and then to look at the genres most likely to occur in these contexts; and then on a greater scale of delicacy the likely linguistic features of these genres. This then can be used as the basis for the syllabus selection. In addition, as a way of dealing with the microstructure of the conversation, there can be sections on different speech functions, for example looking at the speech function classes the learners will need in different situations and how these speech functions are realised.

Importantly though, as work on the analysis of the dynamic aspects of conversation is still at a very early stage, it is important that the methodology employed has tasks and activities that enable learners to interact in as realistic contexts as possible. So the 'chunks' of conversation can be dealt with in the syllabus design and the 'chat' aspects can be dealt with partly by explicit analysis

and modelling of different speech functions, but also by immersing students in tasks and activities that will enable them to be engaged in the dynamic process of conversation.

Conclusion

We have argued that the use of simplified, constructed conversational texts is not an adequate basis for the teaching of casual conversation, as many of the language features of real discourse are omitted. On the other hand, the recent movement to have no explicit language input, but rather to engage learners in tasks and activities that generate language, although worthwhile for other purposes, is not the most efficient basis for teaching informal spoken English. Rather we are arguing for a syllabus design and methodology that essentially complement each other, with a syllabus design that uses authentic conversational extracts, dealing with the subvariety of casual conversation most relevant to the particular learners (for example, casual conversations at dinner parties or at work) and a methodology that engages learners in meaningful and purposeful interaction. Such a methodology will be the more effective, we argue, because of the explicit input and modelling of features of conversation.

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Notes

1. The very problem of functional syllabuses (Wilkins 1976) is the fact that the basic units, the functions, are not linguistically motivated. There is no systematic relationship between form and function, and decisions on the interrelationship and ordering will be, by necessity, arbitrary. And as many have pointed out (for example, Coulthard 1975, Widdowson 1979, Candlin 1980), the learning of discrete, analytical 'communication' categories are unlikely to be more representative of real language use than learning isolated sentences.

2. ^ means that the element on the right follows that on the left, ( ) indicates that the element is optional [ ] indicates domain of recursion. ^{n} means recursion (so the sequence from Substantiating Behaviour through to Wrap-up may be repeated a number of times, and { } means either/or.

3. The transcription is a simplification of Du Bois et al 1988. @ indicates laughter. X indicates unheard syllable. .HH indicates inhaled breath.

4. The move is the basic analytical unit for the analysis - it is a semantic unit, defined as the smallest unit of potentially negotiable information presented by one speaker within one turn of interactive talk. It is the discourse unit considered to carry the pattern of interactive function in dialogue. Grammatically a move is a realisation of a constituent grammatical structure, a major clause that selects independently for mood, or a non-finite or minor clause. Martin defines a move as 'a discourse unit whose unmarked realisation is a clause selecting independently for mood' (Martin in press).

SIMPLY DEFINING CONSTRUCTING A DICTIONARY OF LANGUAGE TESTING

Alan Davies

'He that undertakes to compile a Dictionary undertakes that which, if it comprehends the full extent of his design, he knows himself unable to perform'

(Johnson 1773)

C S Lewis (1960) comments on the term 'simple' thus: 'Every compound, or so we hope, can in principle be resolved into *simple* ingredients, ingredients which are internally homogeneous. And as the compound is a compound, so these ultimate ingredients are *simples*.' (166). 'What is simple or plain is the reverse of complicated. A complicated process is hard to learn and a complicated argument hard to follow. Therefore simple comes to mean 'easy'. The idea that it is within the capacity of those who are simple (in the sense 'unskilled') may perhaps have helped this development.' (174). 'I describe the final state of the word as a semantic sediment. What effectively remains is not this or that precise sense but a general appealingness or disarmingness.' (179).

Disarming indeed! Does this mean that there is no objective judgement as to what is simple or difficult, that it is all a question of appealingness, a kind of political correctness (P.C.) of the lexicon?

As far as texts are concerned there has been a great deal of investigation of what makes for ease of readability. Jeanne Chall (1984) summarises the findings of this work, thus:

'What makes text easy or hard to read and comprehend? The research in readability has uncovered over one hundred factors related to difficulty - such factors as vocabulary, sentences, ideas, concepts, text organization, content, abstractness, appeal, format and illustrations. Of these factors, the two found consistently to be most strongly associated with comprehensibility are vocabulary difficulty and sentence length. Various forms of these two factors are included in most of the currently used readability formulas. The strongest factor of the two is vocabulary difficulty - measured either by a count of unfamiliar words, hard words, words of low frequency, words of three or more syllables, or words of 7 letters or

more. All word measures are highly interrelated. Once a vocabulary factor is used in a formula, another adds little to the prediction. Average sentence length is the second strongest and second most widely used measure of difficulty in readability formulas. It is very highly related to other measures of syntactic difficulty, and therefore only one sentence factor is usually used in a formula. It is also substantially associated with vocabulary difficulty. A vocabulary and a sentence factor together predict the comprehension difficulty of written text to a high degree of accuracy. The multiple correlations run about 0.7 to 0.9 with reading comprehension in multiple-choice or cloze tests.' (237-8).

Chall does not of course deny that there are other factors that contribute to text readability but for the purposes of this paper we will focus on the two she details, vocabulary and sentence length, although we will not here use any readability formulas.

Our concern is with the preparation of information for a dictionary (or more specifically for an encyclopedic dictionary, see below for the distinction). The paper reports some of the preparation that has gone into the construction of a Dictionary of Language Testing (Davies 1992) at the NLLIA Language Testing Centre, University of Melbourne.

Making information available to others, the institutionalised preparation of data to inform, the heart of all pedagogy, is necessarily a process of simplification. Or to put it another way we may define simplification as the pedagogic delivery of information. Not *simple*, that is an issue of possible difference existing in nature whereby for example an X is more difficult than a Y. Observe that there is no limitation here as to context; in other words the simple-difficult continuum in nature is, we suggest, an absolute one. Because of course there may always be a relative difference of awareness in that what is difficult for learners (for example children) may be simple for those who are advanced (for example adults).

The history of readability research records continuing attempts to bring closer the text and the reader. Readability in other words is seen to be a function of their interaction so that measures of difficulty for texts and of comprehension for readers are both necessary. Taylor's development of the cloze technique (1957) was a deliberate attempt to combine these two variables in one measure which could be used to ascertain readability of newspapers. Davies (1984), focusing on the second language situation, reports on an experiment in which an original text and its simplified version were compared in terms of their comprehension by a group of Japanese teachers of English. The hypothesis was that the linguistically simpler text would be comprehended better than the original text. The hypothesis

was supported. In that experiment the measure of comprehension was verbatim cloze.

In our current task of writing a dictionary, care must obviously be taken that the definition or explanations can be understood by the reader. That means targeting the dictionary carefully so that the explanations have appropriate readability for their audience. Dictionaries therefore have a built-in pedagogic function. This raises the questions of just what a dictionary is and in particular what sort of word-book is needed for a professional-academic audience. Some views by dictionary makers will be of interest:

Abercrombie N., Hill S., Turner B S (1984) claim that 'A dictionary of sociology is not just a collection of definitions, but inevitably a statement of what the discipline is. It is also prescriptive in suggesting lines of development and consolidation. The problem of definition in a subject as diverse and dynamic as sociology is to strike a balance between an existing consensus, however fragile and temporary, and a developing potential. The unifying theme of this dictionary is our conviction that sociology is an autonomous, elaborated and vital discipline within the social science corpus. Our enthusiasm for the subject was sustained rather than diminished by the experience of seeking precision within the conflicting range of perspectives that constitute modern sociology.' (p. vii). 'A statement of what the discipline is': a tall order indeed but nevertheless inevitably what all dictionary making assumes in its normative role.

West and Endicott (1935/59) maintain 'This English Dictionary is written specially for the foreigner. It explains to him in words 'which he knows the meaning of words and idioms which he does not know.' (p. iii). In words which s/he knows the meaning of, stresses the welcomed linguistic straitjacket of dictionary making.

Angeles (1981) states that his dictionary 'is intended as an at-hand reference for students, laypersons, and teachers. It can be used as a supplement to texts and philosophy readings; it can also be consulted for philosophy's own enjoyment and enlightenment.' (p. ix). Even the 'laypersons' Angeles refers to must surely be informed, interested, educated and so on. Audience is critical and when it includes students necessarily demands some measure of simplification, if not of language, certainly of substance.

The idea for writing a Dictionary of Language Testing by colleagues in the NLLIA Language Testing Centre, University of Melbourne arose out of several needs; the need for a kind of in-house set of glosses so that we all know what we are talking about, our own register; then, as with text-books, the necessary compromise between the profession (those like ourselves working in Applied Linguistics and language testing) and the public. Such a compromise targets those with general rather than specialist knowledge, ie MA students of the relevant disciplines. Very much, in fact, like the audience targeted by Richards, Platt and Weber in their Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics (1985). We have found that working together on this dictionary is a felicitous way of sharing and educating one another, precisely because it defines, explores and creates the very register we need for our work. Those working on the dictionary (Alan Davies, Tim McNamara, Cathie Elder, Annie Brown, Tom Lumley, Chris Corbel, Yap Soon Hock), are all very much part-time and we are aware that this is a long term task. The Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, after all, was 4 years in the making. A larger contributing group of authors provides wide coverage but needs marshalling and organising. And in such an exercise organisation is essential.

As I have already suggested the problems have to do with audience and definition; but equally important are selection and coverage, scope and format of entry. In attempting to reach agreement over these matters we have been helped by the realisation that such concerns are not at all new in lexicography. If indeed what we are doing is lexicography.

Let me quote from Kipfer's Workbook (1984:1) 'A dictionary is a reference book containing the words of a language or language variety, usually alphabetically arranged, with information on their forms, pronunciations, functions, meanings and idiomatic uses. A dictionary may be more than a reference book about words; it can contain biographical and geographical knowledge as well as lists of colleges and universities, weights and measures, and symbols; and the introduction may include articles about aspects of language and dictionary making. The entries themselves may contain not only pronunciations and meanings, but information about grammar and usage and even the kind of information an encyclopedia gives about the thing the word names.'

There are indeed many terms for our type of ambition: are we writing a dictionary, an encyclopedia, a word list, a glossary, a reference list? Opitz writes of a 'segmental dictionary', but is that what it is or a glossary, perhaps -ie a list of technical terms rather than an attempt 'to isolate a distinct register' which is what Opitz means by a segmental dictionary. (Opitz 1983: 58).

But is it a glossary? Hartmann defines glossary as a 'word-list with explanation of meanings' (Hartmann 1983: 223). Moulin describes a glossary as a list of glosses appended to text, often specialised, and details two techniques of ordering, by areas of interest and by alphabet: 'most authors (of specialist dictionaries) are neither linguists nor professional lexicographers, but specialists in the particular discipline...these glossaries are commissioned...to try and introduce a measure of normalisation in the use of specialist terms and thus facilitate the exchange of information' (Moulin 1983: 146). We will return to that concern for a 'measure of normalisation'.

Is it an encyclopedia? Hartmann tells us that encyclopedic information has to do with 'practical knowledge of things versus lexical information' (Hartmann 1983: 223). A more elaborate distinction is made by Read (1976: 713ff) quoted in McArthur 1986: 'The distinction between a dictionary and an encyclopedia is easy to state but difficult to carry out in a practical way: a dictionary explains words, whereas an encyclopedia explains things. Because words achieve their usefulness by referring to things, however, it is difficult to construct a dictionary without considerable attention to the objects and abstractions designated'.

McArthur reminds us that the Encyclopedia Britannica had its origin in Edinburgh. Notice its original title: 'The Encyclopedia Britannica or a Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, compiled upon a New Plan' (Edinburgh 1768-71, sponsored by the Society of Gentlemen in Scotland). The Britannica was a very obvious product (no doubt influenced by the French philosophers) of the Scottish Enlightenment, that high point in Scottish history, when Scotland truly was the clever country. From that high point we are brought down to earth by the comment of William Smellie, one of the original authors: 'with pastepot and scissors I composed it' (W. Smellie in Kogan 1956: 14, quoted in McArthur: 106-7).

McArthur suggests as a way of resolving the overlap in the uses of the terms Dictionary and Encyclopedia that it is probably best not to bother. 'The simplest way' he says 'of resolving the tension seems to be to accept the way in which the early encyclopedists handled the matter. In this dilemma we in fact work along a continuum rather than within separate containers, where one extreme is words and words alone, and the other is referents and referents alone' (McArthur 1986: 104). At one end of McArthur's continuum is the dictionary, at the other the encyclopedia and in between the encyclopedic dictionary.

McArthur suggests as a way of relating dictionaries and encyclopedias (which in the USA and France, but not in the UK, have, he says always been linked) the following pair of terms 'that could be useful in studying the world of reference materials:

1. micro-lexicography, which deals with the world of words and the wordbook proper (which in most instances is an alphabetic dictionary).
2. macro-lexicography, which shades out into the world of things and subjects, and centres on compendia of knowledge (which in most instances are encyclopedias, which in most instances nowadays are also alphabetic') (McArthur 1986: 109).

When we look at attempts within the field of Applied Linguistics two well-known products are the Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics and the First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. In the Introduction to their Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics, Richards, Platt and Weber (1985) ask who is this dictionary intended for and conclude that it is intended for students of Applied Linguistics and General Linguistics; language teachers both in training and in the field. (1985: v).

'Our aim' they say 'has been to produce clear and simple definitions which communicate the basic and essential meanings of a term in non-technical language. Definitions are self-contained as far as possible, but cross references show links to other terms and concepts, and references provide information where a fuller discussion of a term or concept can be found.' (p. vii).

More helpful to us in our grappling with the problems is Crystal who in the Preface to his A First Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics (1980) confesses 'I remain doubtful even now whether the most appropriate title for this book is "dictionary". The definitional parts of the entries by themselves were less illuminating than one might have expected; and consequently it proved necessary to introduce in addition a more discursive approach, with several illustrations, to capture the significance of a term. Most entries accordingly contain encyclopedic information about such matters as the historical context in which a term was used, or the relationship between a term and others from associated fields' (p. 5).

'Each entry', Crystal continues, 'is self-contained: that is there are no obligatory cross-references to other entries to complete the exposition of a sense. Nor have I made use of the convention 'See Y' after looking up a term...I have preferred to work on the principle that, as most dictionary-users open a dictionary with a single problematic term in mind, they should be given a satisfactory account of that term as immediately as possible. I therefore explain competence under COMPETENCE, performance under PERFORMANCE, and so on. As a consequence of the interdependence of these terms, however, this procedure means that there must be some repetition: at least the salient characteristics of the term performance must be incorporated into the entry for COMPETENCE, and vice-

versa. This repetition would be a weakness, if the book were read from cover to cover; but a dictionary should not be used as a text-book, and while the result has been a somewhat longer volume than would have been the case if the 'See...' convention had been used, I remain convinced of the greater benefits of look-up convenience and entry coherence.' (p. 5).

After some preliminary trials, pilot entry writing and a small-scale survey of the entries among teachers and MA students, we determined on the following guidelines for ourselves:

1. the entries should be on the encyclopedia side of McArthur's continuum, more than language-definitional, explaining where appropriate;
2. they should where possible (and appropriate) give examples so as to situate the explanation;
3. they should accept overlap, in Crystal's sense, so that referring to other entries for necessary explanation would be avoided, except where necessary for informative purposes; citations would be minimised except in the sense of the informative purpose above;

where possible one clear definition should be attempted, in other words coming down on the side of being normative rather than descriptive. We have taken the view that unlike a truly descriptive dictionary (such as the OED) it is our role to contain and confine to 'try and introduce a measure of normalisation in the use of specialist terms and thus facilitate the exchange of information.' (Moulin 1983: 146).

Whether what we are doing therefore should be called a dictionary or an encyclopedia is really beside the point. But while it does veer towards the encyclopedia side of the McArthur continuum it retains important aspects of dictionary-ness. It does attempt definitions, it avoids essays (so it is not a Glossary either: 'I have retained the procedure of organizing the Glossary as a series of essays' (Abrams 1981: v) but unlike many dictionaries it has no information of a pronunciation kind (though obviously it would not eschew this where it seemed relevant) nor does it systematically contain historical material about derivations. So it probably is what McArthur calls an encyclopedic dictionary.

We are in our Language Testing Dictionary concerned to establish a uniform style of entry and at the same time to ensure adequate coverage. To illustrate these questions and through them the importance in our view of being more encyclopedic than dictionary-like, I turn now to a comparison of alternative entries.

We are planning for about four hundred entries in our dictionary. Given the choice between the A version and the B version below, our present view is very much in favour of the B version, even though use of the A version would permit a larger number of entries. In each case the A version is much shorter than the B version, in some sense therefore the B version is more encyclopedic like and the A version more dictionary like. In making the comparisons reported below our hypothesis was that because of our perceived nature of this Dictionary the B versions were more likely to be readable than the A versions.

Experiment and Results

A class of MA students (N = 21) were asked to read three sets of entries (see Appendix) and comment on (1) their length - were they too long, too short or about right; and (2) their difficulty - were they too difficult, too easy or about right. With hindsight it is apparent that these were unsatisfactory choices to have to make. What after all does 'too easy' mean? Nevertheless the responses do provide us with some indication of the readability of the contrasting versions we had provided.

Next a comparison was made between the (a) and (b) versions on the basis of their lexical density (Halliday 1985). Lexical density is an indication of the ratio of lexical to grammatical loading clause by clause. Halliday reports that in informal spoken English lexical density is about 2; in adult written language it is typically more dense, say about 6 per clause. In scientific writing it can be as high as 10-13 per clause. That is one reason why scientific writing is often so difficult except to the expert. It is also an explanation of why newspaper headlines can be almost uninterpretable, unless you know exactly what is currently at issue.

Here are the summed responses of the Masters' students alongside the lexical density finding for each entry.

Draft Entries

	1A	1B	2A	2B	$3A_1$	$3A_2$	3B
Too long	0	9	0	7	0	0	16
Too short	14	0	17	0	19	8	0
About right	7	12	3	14	2	13	4
Difficult	5	10	6	3	6	2	9
Easy	7	1	9	0	13	4	1
About right	9	10	4	18	2	14	9
Lex Density	7	7	12	5.8	11	6.5	6.8

Table 1. Draft Entries : Responses and Lexical Density

As a rule of thumb we suggest that 50+% approval for an entry indicates acceptability. On that basis, two entries, 2B and $3A_2$ may be labelled acceptable. That judgement is supported by the lexical density comparison for these two entries. Note that 2B has a much lower lexical density than 2A (less than half) and that $3A_2$, while much lower on lexical density than $3A_1$, is marginally lower than 3B. The problem with 3B, which we had predicted would be rated as more acceptable by the class, seems to be sheer length. It is interesting that (see Table) there is substantial agreement (16/21) that this entry is too long and yet at the same time as many as 9/21 accorded it 'about right' for difficulty. A similar result emerges for Entry 1 where there is no separation between the A and the B versions in terms of difficulty (both entries obtain a lexical density result of 7). At the same time (and here is the similarity with entry 3B), there were 9 responses in the 'about right' response for 1A and 10 for 1B. We might therefore suggest that acceptability as indicated by being accorded 'about right' for difficulty is in part a function of lexical density. Where lexical density does not discriminate (as in the 1A and 1B entries) neither choice is regarded as being acceptable. Where there may be little to choose in terms of lexical density (as between Entries $3A_2$ and 3B) length of an entry may militate against the choice of an entry (as with Entry 3b).

Of course it may be queried whether a response of 'about right' is appropriate, whether indeed (as with the figure quoted above for scientific writing, a lexical density of between 10 and 13) specialists tolerate a high density, a 'more difficult' entry. But that is after all a comment on the sampling of our responses and it is indeed our contention that the class whose responses we report here are the

appropriate audience for our Dictionary of Language Testing, students on Masters courses who are in the process of being introduced to classes in Applied Linguistics, including Language Testing. Specialists in the field (pace Abercrombie et al 1984) are not our concern in this task; to what extent a dictionary for specialists is a viable activity we remain unclear about. In our view dictionaries (and here we would agree with Abercrombie et al 1984) are always normative in the sense that they are drawing boundaries with a pedagogic intent. No dictionary, certainly not a segmental dictionary, can ever satisfy the specialist! For that is what we have decided to term our effusion, a segmental dictionary: as such it retains its professional/vocational/registral association and at the same time its normative/pedagogical purpose which is what makes our attempts at simplification necessary.

'I am not so lost in lexicography as to forget that words are the daughters of earth, and that things (including deeds) are the sons of heaven' (Samuel Johnson, in the Preface of his Dictionary 1755)

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APPENDIX

Entry 1A

Variance: (in testing and statistics) a measure of the **DISPERSION** of a **SAMPLE**. The variance of a set of scores, on a test for example, would be based on how much the scores obtained differ from the **MEAN**, and is itself the square of the **STANDARD DEVIATION**.

Entry 1B

Variance: a statistical measure of the **DISPERSION** of a **SAMPLE** which can be expressed in a standardised square root form as a **STANDARD DEVIATION**, that is to say that the variance of a sample is the standard deviation squared. The dispersion of a sample on one measure (or test) may be compared with its dispersion on another; this comparison is referred to as the shared variance. Such a comparison is achieved by means of a **CORRELATION** and further comparisons of dispersion on other measures are carried out by means of **ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE**. The square of the correlation indicates in percentage terms the shared variance between two measures. Two tests which correlate 0.7 would have a shared variance of 49%, while a higher correlation of 0.9 would still indicate a shared variance of only 81%, leaving 19% of the variance unexplained by the overlap between the two tests.

Entry 2A

Analysis of Variance: a statistical procedure used for estimating the relative effects of different sources of variance on test scores (ANOVA) (Bachman 1990:193).

Entry 2B

Analysis of Variance: a statistical procedure which combines correlations of several variables with one another and against a common criterion, with the intention of determining the influence (if any) of one variable upon another. Analysis of Variance (or Anova as it is often called) helps observers to avoid simplistic conclusions assuming causality between one variable and a criterion. Anova is commonly available on computer statistical packages. Example: success at the end of an intermediate language course is shown to be significantly correlated with scores on an entry language test; when two other variables, age and motivation, are added to the study, it might turn out that entry scores no longer predict or do so only in relation to age and/or motivation; or that age is now so important a predictor that, when the 'variance' due to age is removed from the analysis, what remains for entry scores is trivial. (see: variance, correlation, criterion, variable, predict).

Entry $3A_1$

Bias: 'systematic error associated with any type of group membership, sex and age group membership included.' (Jensen 1980).

Entry $3A_2$

Bias: 'systematic differences in test performance that are the result of differences in individual characteristics, other than the ability being tested, of test takers.' (Bachman 1990: 271).

Entry 3B

Bias: bias is defined by Jensen (1980) as 'systematic error associated with any type of group membership, sex and age group membership included'. The terms *systematic error* and *group* are important in this definition. In a trivial way all tests are biased against individuals who lack knowledge or skill. But since that is what tests are designed to do, such 'bias' or, better, discrimination is not systematic error, that is to say there will be random error as in all measurement but it is not systematic or deliberate. The *group* issue is more problematic in situations of norm conflict such as recent migrant communities. Should children from such communities with only a few years of schooling in the target language (eg English) take the same language tests as first language speaking children? In conflict are (1) the general educational norms and standards of the host community and (2) what it is reasonable to expect in terms of English language proficiency of the migrant children. In situations where the first consideration weighs more heavily, migrant children will take the same English test as first language children. In situations where the second consideration is more important, a more specialised test of ESL may be used.

SIMPLIFICATION IN STUDENT WRITING

A Chandrasegaran

Introduction

Ineffective academic writing produced by students is characterized by inadequacies such as a lack of focus at paragraph level as well as in the discourse as a whole, vague generalizations left unclarified, unsubstantiated debatable statements, and items of information given without indicating their relation to preceding information or their relevance to the overall theme. Teachers are apt to put down these textual flaws to inability to think logically, or to a poor command of grammar and limited vocabulary, or to plain laziness. This paper offers an alternative view. It proposes that unsatisfactory argumentative/expository texts generated by students represent a simplification of the complex discourse structure of genres of writing described by Britton et al as analogic-tautologic (speculative), tautologic (impersonal logical argument), and persuasive (Britton et al, 1975).

This paper will first show why we should look askance at the usual explanations of ineffective student writing (failure to think logically, etc.). The alternative explanation - simplification of discourse structure - will be presented and illustrated with three characteristic features of student-generated argumentative texts. The final part of the paper will briefly discuss the implications of discourse structure simplification for the teaching of academic writing.

Unhelpful Explanations of Ineffective Writing

"My students can't think" is a common complaint among writing teachers trying to explain the unsatisfactory arguments in their students' essays. An example is mentioned in Enkvist (1990): "What is wrong with our students . . . is not that they don't know enough English but that they cannot think" (p.22). The complaint implies that the students concerned are lacking in intelligence and therefore incapable of logical thought, or that they are too lazy to display the necessary commitment to school writing assignments. These assumptions are not only of questionable verity but also carry counter-productive pedagogical implications.

The assumption of insufficiency of intelligence is dubious when the writers concerned are university students who have year after year passed examinations in a variety of academic subjects. Its pedagogical implication is that there is little to be done about students' ineffective academic writing because it is too late to increase a university student's intelligence quotient to enable her or him to think better. It is more useful to take the position that students can think, and to ask what cognitive manoeuvres must be executed to "think" during writing so that students can be taught efficient procedures for selecting ideas and linguistic conventions to produce organized, coherent written discourse.

Another unhelpful position is to attribute ineffective writing to laziness or lack of commitment to school writing (e.g. Pianko, 1979). Many unsuccessful student writers in my classes are among the most diligent students I have ever taught, willing to re-write a text three or four times. Each re-write is a marginal improvement over the previous attempt, clearly indicating that the root of the problem is not laziness but an unsophisticated composing process that takes time and sustained effort to improve.

The belief that ineffective writing springs from an imperfect mastery of grammar is prevalent among writing teachers. The fact that the flaws noted of ESL student writing (lack of focus, inadequate substantiation, etc.) are also observed in native English-speaking students throws this belief into doubt. Miller (1980), who taught American freshmen, and Peters (1986), who studied the writing of Australian university students, are among the researchers who report native speaker students' inability to write coherent, satisfying arguments. In the National University of Singapore where there are remedial English students who have a low level command of grammar and students majoring in English whose grammar is far better, a teacher with eighteen year's experience with both groups of students has noted the same writing problem common to both: the inability to focus their writing and sustain an argument with the needs of the target audience in mind (Kwan-Terry, 1989).

Further doubt is thrown on the poor grammar explanation in view of the observation of text linguists that "we often communicate successfully with 'deviant,' structurally ill-formed utterances" (Enkvist, 1990, p.25). From a pedagogical point of view the poor grammar explanation is an unsatisfactory explanation because of its implication that more remedial grammar lessons will lead to better written communication. As many classroom teachers will testify, the time and effort spent correcting surface structure mistakes are never rewarded with a corresponding degree of improvement in communicative effectiveness in students' texts that makes the trouble worthwhile.

We need a more satisfactory explanation of ineffective writing, and one that can provide positive directions for teachers interested in helping students develop better strategies for academic text production.

Simplification of Discourse Structure in Student Writing

This paper proposes the view that inadequate writing stems from a simplified script in the inexperienced student writer's internal representation of what argumentative discourse should be. The simplified script lacks some features that mark successful academic writing because students are unaware of the conventions of academic discourse or incapable of the cognitive executive routines underlying sophisticated argument.

Student writers simplify the discourse structure of argumentative discourse because the composing processes they have acquired in school composition classes are inadequate for the complexities of constructing organized, substantiated, coherent arguments. Unable to cope with the simultaneous demands of selecting information, ordering and restructuring it to fit the situational context, and searching for the linguistic means to signal logic and coherence, students simplify by omitting some of the operations involved in the assembly of an effective argumentative text and reducing others to manageable proportions. The simplification process is much like what children do when they produce a stick figure in an attempt to draw a human figure. Complex human anatomy is reduced to a circle for the head and a few lines for torso and limbs, and fine distinctions like differentiation between arm and forearm are omitted.

It is possible that the notion of a macro-level organizational structure of argumentative discourse is foreign to student writers. An investigation of the composing processes of ESL students at the National University of Singapore revealed the predominance of a word/sentence-focused approach to writing, and planning strategies that did not result in the integration of disparate items of information into a global plan for the whole text (Chandrasegaran, 1991). Students write as if they have no awareness of global organization plans, which raises the question: How can they simplify what they do not know?

The answer lies in distinguishing two kinds of simplification. One is the simplification of knowledge and skills that one has mastered and can perform with facility. An example is foreigner-talk which is an attempt by native speakers to simplify grammar and lexis so as to be understood by less proficient speakers of the language. The other kind of simplification is simplifying what one has not mastered

or has only a hazy notion of, much like the layman's representation of the technical procedures in a heart transplant or a two-year old's lines of squiggles which represent what he thinks writing is. The discourse structure of unsuccessful argumentative/persuasive writing generated by students falls into the second kind of simplification. It is the result of a simplistic mental script that goes like this: an essay must have 'points' related to the topic, must be organized in paragraphs, and must contain one's knowledge about the topic. The more important features (e.g. thematic unity) are wanting.

The simplistic script produces three characteristic features of simplified discourse structure discernible in unsuccessful student writing:

1. Inadequate or missing support arguments
2. Implied or unstated rather than explicit relational information
3. Omitted closure

These three manifestations of simplification will be explained below and illustrated with excerpts from the writing of ESL university students who have studied English for more than 10 years in schools using English as the medium of instruction. These students, from the arts and social science faculty of the National University of Singapore, were attending an English course to upgrade their language skills which had been adjudged to be inadequate in a qualifying test administered on admission to university.

1. Inadequate or Missing Support

Providing explanatory information or elaborative details to support or illuminate propositions is a convention of effective academic discourse. A study of advanced EFL students' essays by Lindeberg (1985) found that essays with supportive arguments to back up claims impress examiners as better than essays offering unsupported propositions.

In student writers' simplified discourse structure support is often sketchy or non-existent. Figure 1 is an example of absence of support taken from the discussion section of a student's report on the effectiveness of a TV advertisement promoting teaching as a career.

Figure 1. Absence of Support

1. 60% of the undergraduates watch most of the advertisements during commercial breaks and nearly all of them (95%) noticed the advertisement on teaching as a career.
2. This suggests that the advertisement by the Ministry of Education is suc ssful and effective.
3. TV advertisement can continue to be used to promote the idea of teaching as a career.

(Student TLY)

Sentence 2 which states the interpretation of the finding is not substantiated, thereby raising unanswered question: Why is the advertisement considered successful? In what way is it effective? The missing support represents a missed step in the student's mental script of argumentative discourse. It results from the non-performance of a cognitive operation that activates writer awareness of the reader's need for elaboration.

When the student becomes aware of the need for elaboration the skeletal script is fleshed out, as Figure 2 shows. In Figure 2, which comes from student TLY's third attempt at the assignment, we see the writer's attempt to support her interpretation of a finding by explaining why she says the advertisement can be considered 'interesting' and 'unique'.

Figure 2. Supportive Argument Inserted

It was found that 95% of the undergraduates interviewed saw and remembered the TV advertisement promoting teaching as a career. This suggests that the advertisement was able to create a lasting impression and that it must have been interesting and unique. It is unique in that it makes use of the analogy of sculpture. In the advertisement the teacher is portrayed as a sculptor who carves and shapes stone into a human figure, just like teachers shaping the personalities and characters of students. The analogy of the sculptor stimulates interest in the audience, catching their attention and making them remember the message.

(Student TLY)

2. *Non-explicit or Omitted Relational Information*

The second characteristic of student generated academic discourse is implied or omitted, as opposed to explicitly stated, relational information. This flaw can be observed at two levels: (a) at the micro or inter-sentence level, i.e. failing to indicate logical relations between consecutive sentences or sentences in proximity; and (b) at the macro-level, i.e. failing to indicate clearly part-whole relations, e.g. between a sentence in a paragraph and the paragraph's topic idea, or between a paragraph and the overall theme or purpose of the discourse. Clear, non-ambiguous indicators of relational information are necessary to produce coherence, a desired quality of academic discourse. For a text to be coherent, according to Enkvist (1978), "every sentence . . . must have a cross-reference to at least one other sentence of that text, and there has to be an overall coherence involving the text as a whole" (p.113).

Immature student writers rely heavily on implicit coherence (Evensen, 1990) with the result that relations between ideas in neighbouring sentences have to be worked out by the reader. An example of how unclear relations at the micro level can obfuscate reader's comprehension is to be seen in Figure 3, the opening paragraph from the Interpretation of Results section of a report on whether NUS students do any reading other than assigned course-related reading.

Figure 3. Absence of Explicit Logical Relations

1. The time spent on reading the newspaper is directly related to how much knowledge the reader can obtain from the newspaper.
2. From the findings only 5% of the interviewees do not read the newspaper at all.
3. This means that out of 20 undergraduates one does not read the newspaper.
4. The reason is that it is not required in their course and their course requires a lot of reference reading.
5. However, further observation found that these people get their current affairs knowledge from watching the 9 o'clock news on TV.
6. Most of the interviewees fall into the category of those spending less than one hour reading the newspaper, which may be due to the fact that the study work load is heavy. . . .

(Student TBC)

There is no explicit relation between sentence 1 and the next four sentences, all of which say nothing about either time spent on newspaper reading or knowledge obtained from such reading. The topic of sentence 1 (time spent on newspaper reading) is not alluded to again in the paragraph until sentence 6. The significant meaning implied in the relations between sentences 1, 2 and 6 seems to be that most undergraduates do read the paper and spend less than an hour per day doing so. However, the reader who makes this inference is thrown into doubt by sentences 3, 4 and 5 which appear to shift the discussion to a defence of the minority who do not read the paper. In simplified text generation different strands of thought are set down, probably as they come to mind, and no attempt is made to evaluate the logical connection between them or to make the connection explicit to the reader. The complex process of thinking out relations between ideas before selecting meaning for the next unit of text is reduced to a simpler routine: think up ideas and select anything that has some connection to any topic in the previous sentence.

The convention of making explicit part-whole relations at the macro level in academic discourse facilitates the reader's understanding of the organizational structure of the text. Without overt relational information the reader is compelled to rely on his/her inferencing capabilities to work out the relevance of items of information to the global purpose of the text. In simplified student texts the motivation for items of information often remains obscure despite the reader's most cooperative efforts at inferencing because the unstated link is known only to the writer. Figure 4 is an example of a student text that fails to state the relevance of an episode to the main argument of which the episode is a part. The purpose of the episode is to interpret the finding regarding one reported method of coping with stress in the context of the larger argument (i.e. the Discussion section of the report) which carries the theme: religion is a significant factor in helping undergraduates to cope with stress.

Figure 4. Absence of Relation between Part and Whole

The second largest group were those who responded: "Carry on with life" (20%). Unlike the group who resort to religious practices (praying, visits to place of worship, etc.), this group seems to have an attitude of self reliance. Such an attitude probably has connection to the group's religious belief in rebirth and re-death. This concept teaches that ". . . the conditions of each new form of existence are determined by the merit and demerit of the actions that have taken place in previous forms of existence" (Encyclopedia of Religion). . . . Therefore, this group of people believe they have to endure suffering all by themselves. They do not

have the concept of reaching out to God for help like the first group. [The discussion ends here.]

(Student SN)

Student SN ends her discussion of the findings without stating anywhere in the text the connection between the point of the episode in Figure 4 and the theme of the whole discussion section, which is: religion is a significant factor in coping with stress regardless of whether subjects report religious practices like praying. At a writing conference after her report was written SN was able to explain the missing connection: the "second largest" group's response, like the first group's, is also based on religious belief, thus underlining again the significance of religion in undergraduates' coping with stress. Many students, like SN, are able to explain macro-level relationships and the motivation for items of information in their text when questioned. Their failing to do so when writing cannot then be the result of an inability to think.

At writing conferences, prompted by the teacher's questions (e.g. Why do you say X?), student writers invariably succeed in supplying missing links and stating the relevance of the ideas in their essays. However, during composing the same students are unable to identify the absence of relational information because the teacher's prompts are not available. Without the teacher's prompts students are unable to perform the difficult task of organizing their ideas and anticipating audience need. Their strategy is to simplify the complex process of organization and present information as they would in an unstructured oral communication situation. So items of information are given as they come to mind or in the order in which they were learnt, instead of organized in logical linear steps to suit the purpose of the text. In oral communication, however, one's audience are able to ask questions and say what part of the message is unclear. This is not possible in writing. The writer therefore has to organize disparate pieces of information into a hierarchical framework and be aware of when part-whole relations and motivation for information have to be explicitly stated.

3. Omitted Closure

The third characteristic feature found in students' simplified discourse is the absence of the closure at the end of an argument, which physically may be a paragraph, an episode comprising several paragraphs, or an entire section of more than one episode in an essay or report. Omitted closure gives the impression that the argument has been abandoned and left hanging in mid-air, as it were, instead of

being brought to an appropriate close. In academic writing one form of closure is a reference to the global theme of the whole text or to the high-level theme within the episode or paragraph, as in Figure 5 where the close reminds the reader of the topic idea: the causal relationship between intelligence and crime.

Figure 5. Paragraph With Closure

> The period immediately before and after World War I saw a flurry of interest in the relationship between intelligence and crime. . . . it was argued that the dull-witted simply could comprehend neither the punishments attached to illegal behavior nor the rewards linked to conformity. With the development of scales to measure intelligence . . ., it was possible to put the idea to some sort of test. An I.Q. of 75 had been set as the dividing line between normal intelligence and feeble-mindedness . . ., and a number of studies indicated that by this standard a substantial proportion of imprisoned criminals were mentally deficient. However, extensive intelligence testing by the Army Psychological Corps revealed that by this standard almost one third of the recruits for the draft were feeble-minded, a finding that made many people understandably suspicious of the definitions and procedures of the intelligence testers. In addition, more careful comparisons between prisoners and nonprisoners showed little difference between the two populations. Theories about the causal role of mental deficiency diminished in popularity.
>
> From Criminology by Gresham M Sykes

Without an appropriate closure the reader has no statement of the motivation behind the argument just presented and must rely on his or her memory of earlier text, if the motivation is stated there. Otherwise, the reader has to resort to surmise, as is the case in Figure 6.

Figure 6. Omitted Closure

> Firstly, I feel that the implementation of the opting-out law is not to sweep the problem of apathy under the carpet. Instead, it is a solution to it. People are being apathetic not in the sense that they are not for the organ donation scheme, but that they just couldn't be bothered to go through the paper work to 'legalise' [sic] their donation. P(60s).
>
> (Student 12. Final draft)

Note: P denotes pause in seconds.

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The excerpt in Figure 6 is from a letter written by a student to a newspaper to express support for a law (in the making at the time) known as the opting-out law under which all non-Muslim Singaporeans are potential organ donors unless they indicate in writing their wish to opt out. According to the student, who was interviewed immediately after he had finished writing (details of this study are reported in Chandrasegaran, 1991), the deleted words at the end of the paragraph began an abandoned sentence that was "the new law would make things simpler for potential donors". Had the sentence been written, it would have made a suitable closure to the paragraph for it would have highlighted the overall theme of the letter: that the opting-out law will facilitate organ donation.

The student's self-reported reason for aborting his intended closing sentence after a 60-second pause was his concern that the letter "would be too long". The basis of his decision is telling. It reflects the inexperienced student writer's inadequate concept of the discourse structure of academic expository/argumentative writing. The concept is a simplified script in which the closure is dispensable or of so little significance that it can be sacrificed for the sake of a parameter of secondary importance like the physical length of the text.

The three manifestations of discourse structure simplification described in this section - inadequate support, non-explicit relational information and omitted closure - have pedagogical implications which are briefly set out below.

Implications for Teaching

This paper has argued that a simplified script of written academic discourse is at the root of ineffective student writing. It follows then that writing teachers should aim at helping students to internalize a more sophisticated script containing all the moves expected in good academic writing. The instructional methodology for realizing this aim has to include more than the study of model texts, because product study alone will not lead to the acquisition of the cognitive behaviours necessary for effective discourse generation. Knowing that support is a feature of academic argument does not equip the student with the capability of deciding when support is in order or how to generate and select appropriate supporting details. There must be learning activities that enable students to experience the internal states and the cognitive processes underlying effective decision-making in composing.

Teachers can help students to overcome the limitations of their internal simplified script by encouraging them to take a global, communication-oriented approach to writing, in place of the word-/sentence approach observed of inexperienced writers (e.g. in the studies of Sommers (1980), Chandrasegaran (1991). A global communication-oriented approach will build up an awareness of not just the top-level rhetorical structure of academic discourse but also the communicative function of its conventional features (topic idea focus, support, etc.).

In promoting the whole-text communicative approach to writing assignments teachers need to help their students learn rhetorical strategies of decision-making, i.e. using purpose, audience and other aspects of the rhetorical problem as reference points when deciding what to say and how to say it. Student writers will be forever tethered to a simplified script if their decision-making is largely governed by the last element (with each word, sentence or paragraph decided solely by the last written word, sentence or paragraph), the method of composing most widely practised among ESL university students (Chandrasegaran, 1991). Teaching rhetorical strategies takes time and dedicated effort. Procedures have to be devised to enable students to experience a felt sense of writer purpose, to see the reader's need for supporting arguments or clarification, and to practise complex mental routines like recognizing ambiguity, generating appropriate elaboration, and identifying the points at which relational information should be explicitly stated. With ESL students whose mastery of the language is still imperfect there is the additional challenge of developing a sensitivity to the communicative value of grammatical form and lexis. The difficulty here lies in teaching students to be concerned about the textual and functional implications of form, to ask questions about whether the linguistic devices they have used convey an intended meaning appropriate to the rhetorical situation instead of pursuing surface structure accuracy for its own sake.

Conclusion

The pedagogical implications presented above underline the value of understanding unsuccessful student writing as a simplification of discourse structure which has its roots in the students' incomplete mental script for conventional academic texts of the argumentative/expository type. Unlike the other explanations of unsatisfactory writing discussed at the beginning of this paper/ (inability to think, poor grammar, etc), the simplification theory has the potential for bringing about a whole-text, rhetorical approach to writing instruction aimed at helping students to master the cognitive operations leading to the generation of communicatively adequate written discourse. Teachers who believe that inapt writing arises from

simplifying complex discourse structure will find it natural to accept the challenge of teaching students the mental procedures for making composing decisions appropriate to writer purpose and reader expectations, e.g. procedures for deciding how to select details so as to maintain the focal point, when and how to state relations between topics to achieve global coherence, etc.. When students learn to execute rhetorical strategies of decision-making their simplified mental representation of academic discourse will give way to a mature sophisticated script, then their writing will become convincingly substantiated, more coherent, and better focused.

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RESPONDING TO TASK DIFFICULTY: WHAT IS INVOLVED IN ADJUSTING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LEARNERS AND LEARNING EXPERIENCES?

John Honeyfield

Introduction

In this article I assume that a materials writer needs to create a learner-friendly course in which any task is feasible for the learners at that point in the course when they meet it. Tasks need to make new demands on learners, yet learning can only take place through learners engaging in tasks that are feasible. Task is used here in a broad sense to refer to any activity, exercise, or planned learning experience for the classroom.

The article suggests there are two general instructional strategies which a course designer or materials writer may use in creating a course that meets the feasibility requirement. First, when designing individual tasks, the course designer can manipulate task components believed to determine task difficulty, components such as the input text, the complexity of operations to be carried out on the input, and the nature of the output required. This might be called task modification, or task adaptation. To implement this strategy, a course designer must have an understanding - intuitive or systematic - of how various factors inter-relate to make a task more or less challenging for a group of learners. Two important types of factors, learner factors which derive from the learners, and task factors which derive from the nature of tasks, are discussed in the body of the article.

The second instructional strategy takes advantage of what I call learning factors, ways in which preceding tasks in a sequence enable learners to successfully carry out later ones. Thus a task which, in isolation, would be too demanding for learners, may be made feasible for them by arranging for prior learning that will have an enabling or facilitating function in relation to this task. The present article gives more attention to the second strategy, as it is less well known.

The second strategy is implemented through the design of task sequences. The article suggests that course designers have developed a number of patterns or models of task sequence. Some important task sequence models are described, and the article speculates about the learning factors that may be involved in them.

Learner and Task Factors

As mentioned in the introduction, learner and task factors are seen as two of the main factor types contributing to task difficulty. Learner factors are features of learners which make it more or less difficult for them to carry out tasks, and derive mainly from previous learning. Task factors relate to particular tasks or task types, and make them more or less challenging for learners.

Nunan (1988; 1989: chapter 5) offers a detailed discussion of factors influencing task difficulty, and the list of factors presented below owes a good deal to his discussion. However, unlike Nunan I believe learner and task factors are essentially reciprocal. For example, tasks may differ in respect of the amount of confidence they require of learners, but learners also differ in the degree of confidence they have in carrying out a particular task. Giving a talk to the class, say, probably requires more confidence than a reading comprehension task, yet some learners will be more confident than others in giving the talk. Thus confidence can be considered both a task and a learner factor.

Again, learners may differ in their motivation towards a task type (a learner factor). But it can be argued that some task types are more motivating than others (cf. Ur 1988), or that the more demanding a task, the more motivation it requires; this makes motivation seem a task factor.

Indeed, it seems that almost any relevant factor will have the reciprocal quality we have just seen as a feature of confidence and motivation. If so, it may be simpler for the course designer to work with a unitary list, such as the following:

Learner/task Factors

1. Procedure, or what the learners have to do to derive output from input.

2. Input text)
)-
3. Output required)

Note: The following items, (a)-(d), may need considering for both input and output.

(a). Language items - vocabulary, structures, discourse structures, etc., processability.

(b). Skills, both macro- and sub-skills.

(c). World knowledge or "topic content".

(d). Text handling or conversation strategies.

4. Amount and types of help given.

5. Roles of teacher and learners.

6. Time allowed.

7. Motivation.

8. Confidence.

9. Learning styles.

However, each item must still be taken as having dual reference; relevant aspects of both learners and tasks should always be considered (if known).

To illustrate application of the above list, I now offer an interpretation of it as applied to tasks in which the main emphasis is on reading skills.

Learner/task Factors: An Interpretation for Reading Tasks

1. Procedure In what ways will learners need to process the text? How much information must they get, and how much of the text must be processed to get it? What depth of processing is required - eg, to what extent is inference involved? Is some critical or aesthetic response asked for? How effective are the learners likely to be in carrying out the procedure?

2. Language items What vocabulary, grammatical structures, forms of cohesion, and discourse patterns are involved? To what extent do learners need to know them (in view of the procedural requirements)? To what extent do they know them?

2a. Skills What reading sub-skills are required in this task? (Major sub-skills are skimming, scanning, and close reading.) To what extent have learners acquired them?

2b. World knowledge What world knowledge (content schemata) is required for processing this text? To what extent do learners have this knowledge? Will it be activated by the task? Can the learners themselves take the initiative, and reflect on relevant areas of their world knowledge?

2c. Text handling strategies What text handling strategies are needed for the tasks? What strategies would be useful to offset any deficiencies in, say, vocabulary or world knowledge? Examples are guessing unknown words from context, ignoring unknown words, and using a dictionary. To what extent do learners have the strategies, and know when to use them?

3. Output What form of output is required? To what extent can the learners cope with this? Quantity of output may be important, eg one-word answers vs. sentences, and whether or not output can be taken directly from the input.

4. Help given What help is given? Can learners use it? In the case of a reading task, help could involve text features such as redundancy, in-text definitions, and graphic support from diagrams, etc. (Help in the form of pre-reading tasks is covered below under learning factors.)

5. Roles of teacher and learners To what extent does the task give learners a choice of input texts, procedure or output? Can learners respond by adapting the task to their preferred ways of learning? By greater personal involvement?

6. Time How much time seems reasonable for this reading task? Can learners manage it within this time?

7. Motivation How motivating or interesting is the input? The procedure? Is the output needed for a following task, and will this be an incentive? Are these learners likely to find the task interesting?

8. Confidence is unlikely to be as important in reading as in speaking or writing, but may be relevant for tasks perceived as new or difficult. How much confidence does the task require? Will the learners have sufficient confidence?

9. Learning styles With what learning styles (Willing, 1988) is the task consistent? Do these match the learning styles of the learners?

The First Instructional Strategy: Adapting Tasks to the Capacities of Learners

Tasks may be adapted to the capacities of learners by manipulating task factors, the aim being feasibility. At the same time, tasks should set a reasonable challenge, often making new demands on learners (consistent with feasibility). Obviously a task may be easy for one group of learners and difficult for others, depending largely on past learning. This implies that learner factors should guide task adaptation.

In practice, tasks are not designed in isolation, but as elements of task sequences such as lessons or units. A course designer assumes that when learners reach a particular task, they will have worked through preceding tasks. Thus while needs analysis can determine relevant learner factors on entry to a course, the course designer must continually re-estimate learner factors indirectly by keeping in mind the task sequence preceding the task currently being designed. And thus sequence design influences task design; the two instructional strategies are not entirely independent.

It is likely that trade-off relationships are exploited in task design. For example, the length of input material could be held constant or reduced when new processing demands are made. On the other hand, we might set learners a more challenging version of a task type if we know they are highly motivated by the task type.

The Second Instructional Strategy: Enabling Learners to Cope with Tasks through Task Sequence Building

As I noted in the introduction, methodologists have developed a number of patterns or models of task sequence which can be seen as ways of implementing the second strategy. I will shortly describe and discuss some task sequence models (TSMs) for which there is evidence in the literature. It is not possible, on the basis of such analysis, to show the TSMs under discussion do indeed have an enabling function with respect to complex tasks. However, I believe these models have evolved or been developed as attempts to implement the second strategy, and what I want to do is to speculate about how each of them might do this - bearing in mind that ultimately, questions of their relative effectiveness could be answered only by empirical investigation.

I suggest the various TSMs are based (at least in part) on learning factors, ways in which the ease or difficulty of a task can be affected by other tasks preceding it. Such factors would develop in learners a capacity to carry out language-using tasks they otherwise could not have tackled, or help them carry out tasks more skillfully and effectively. The discussion, then, will aim to identify possible learning factors, but to do this we need to examine the structure of the TSMs, and in particular, inter-task relationships, continuities and discontinuities across tasks in a sequence. What is varied and what held constant in a TSM?

The Relevance of Integration to the Analysis of TSMs

Integration has been discussed in the literature, but rarely defined. It is most familiar as part of "skills integration", a common version of which proposes tasks in a sequence should each emphasize different macro-skills (eg, listening, writing), the tasks being linked by something in common, such as a grammatical structure or topic (Read, 1985). It seems to me that the integration here consists in continuity across tasks, the integrating device being a particular grammatical structure or topic. The items integrated are tasks. The proposal of Read (and others before Read) is that each task should focus on a different macro-skill - but this is not essential to the concept of integration as such.

Thus on my definition, integration is achieved when tasks in a sequence have anything significant in common which provides a link or connection between them. It can take many forms, some of which will be listed shortly.

Since integration consists of links or continuities across tasks, identifying patterns of integration is one conceptual tool for the analysis of task sequence models. We should bear in mind, however, that discontinuities are also relevant to an understanding of these models.

The following integration types can be found in recent language teaching materials and all occur, or may occur, in at least one of the TSMs to be discussed. (Models are partly defined by the integration types involved in them, though some integration types may be optional in a given TSM.) In item repetition integration, one or more lexical items, grammatical structures, sub-skills, discourse structures, etc., occur in two or more tasks in a sequence. This is probably the most basic kind of integration, and some form(s) of it tend to occur in all other kinds of integration.

There is task-type integration where a particular type of task is repeated, eg there may be several role-plays or information transfer tasks in a unit, presented either contiguously or separately. In real-life integration, tasks are linked by the fact that a sequence parallels some real-life macro-process of language use, eg a job application letter followed by an interview. The output from one task may become input for a following task, and here there is output-input integration, eg learners could fill in a questionnaire by interviewing classmates, then use the questionnaire data for a writing or speaking task.

Tasks may also be linked by a single topic (in their input and/or output texts) giving topic integration. Finally, part-whole integration occurs where tasks can be seen as linked by the fact that they all contribute to or form part of a larger whole - not merely a task sequence as such, but a more complex task, perhaps a communicative task involving writing or speaking.

The Task Sequence Models

Three TSMs will be discussed. They are shown schematically in Figure 1 below. In each case the discussion will present some evidence to show that the models exist in the methodological literature and/or in published materials, attempt to analyse the internal structure of the models, focusing on continuities and discontinuities, and try to uncover possible learning factors that may be involved.

(i). Repetition of Task Type with Increase in Complexity

I suspect that a "pure" form of this TSM ([i] in Figure 1) is quite rare in recent published materials, though it occurs in some older course books, eg ones consisting merely of a series of passages for comprehension, each followed by questions. (The model is present if, say, the passages increase in length and/or the questions in complexity.) However, it is not uncommon to find a task type repeated at intervals through a course, with increasing complexity, but with instances of it separated by tasks of other types. In such cases it would appear that type (i) is combined with one or more other TSMs.

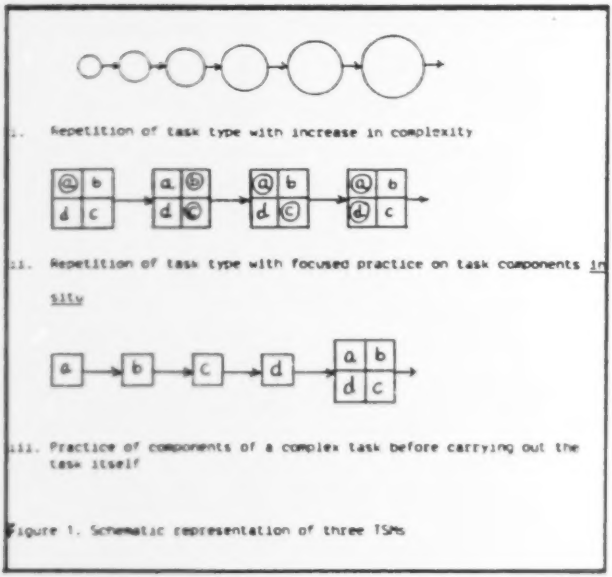
i. Repetition of task type with increase in complexity
ii. Repetition of task type with focused practice on task components in
sity
iii. Practice of components of a complex task before carrying out the
task itself

Figure 1. Schematic representation of three TSMs

Although this model can be implemented using real-life task types, it is questionable whether the model itself derives from processes of language use (as does model [ii], see below. It is true, as Prabhu (1987) points out, that communicative event types get repeated in real life; examples are lectures and service encounters. Yet these are not likely to be arranged in graded sequences. Rather, the model seems to derive from some implicit learning theory emphasizing repeated practice of tasks in such a way that a task always occurs as a recognisable instance of its type - but with manipulation of elements to ensure controlled increase in processing demands.

The task-type integration in this model will involve repetition of procedural elements (eg, filling in blanks if the task type is cloze), sub-skill configurations and, at least in the case of real-life tasks, text type. Writing a letter or listening to lectures must involve letters and lectures in some form, even if length or information density are varied.

(ii). Repetition of a Task Type with Focus on Task Components In Situ

This TSM ([ii] in Figure 1) seems limited largely to writing instruction as informed by the "process approach". To understand it we need to see the act of writing (in the broadest sense) as a macro-task; examples of writing macro-tasks are writing a story, writing a report, writing about an experience.

Research into the writing process has shown that a writing macro-task consists of various phases, such as pre-writing/planning, composing, revising, and editing. Moreover, a competent writer moves back and forth between these phases in a recursive manner as the need arises (Zamel 1983; 1987).

This TSM is much influenced by such study of the writing process, a process of language use, and by comparisons of the writing processes of proficient and less proficient writers (Zamel 1983). Essentially it involves focusing on different phases of the process (generating ideas, revising, etc.) to help learners become more aware of, and more proficient in these phases, and thus more proficient in the process as a whole (Lapp 1985; Raimes 1983).

It is important to note that focused practice of the different aspects of writing is characteristically given "in context", ie within the context of an ongoing writing macro-task. The course designer or teacher intervenes in some way, either by having "conferences" with individuals or groups who need help, or through a more formal approach, by setting planning, revision or feedback tasks for the whole class at points thought to be appropriate. (Some process writing books are rather rigid. In a book by Cramer [1985] each unit follows the same plan, with focused work on each phase of writing in the same order for each writing project. This seems to allow little scope for recursiveness.)

The intervention in an ongoing process involved in process writing distinguishes this TSM from others (and presumably could not easily be implemented with other macro-skills such as conversation or listening). The approach emphasizes practice, so the macro-task gets repeated. There is part-whole

integration, topic integration, output-input integration and item repetition between the phases of a given writing macro-task.

(iii). Practice of Components of a Complex Task before the Task Itself is Carried Out

In diagram (iii). Figure 1, the final square represents a complex task regarded as too difficult for learners to tackle directly. In this TSM, such a complex, probably communicative task becomes the end point of a sequence. The task is analysed and, based on the analysis, a series of pre-tasks is created to practise components before learners tackle the final task itself. The final task probably represents a major goal of the course, eg conversation, lecture comprehension, or writing a certain text type.

Study writing (Hamp-Lyons and Heasley, 1987) is an example of a course book implementing this TSM. At the end of chapter 1, dealing with spatial relationships, we find "consolidation tasks" requiring the learner to write descriptions of a living room, or of the layout of university car parks. These more or less communicative tasks are preceded by 11 pre-tasks focusing on discourse patterns, vocabulary, and other linguistic information relevant to writing descriptions of spatial relationships. The TSM of this book thus does not reflect research into the writing process, but rather is based on the authors' study of written texts using discourse analysis, on writing as product.

It seems to me analysis of language as product is a basic principle of TSM (iii), and if analysis shifts to processes of language use, the outcome will be a sequence conforming to model (ii) (or perhaps a hybrid of [ii] and [iii]). However, model (iii) also presumably reflects belief in a synthetic approach to learning according to which components of a task can be learned outside the task, then somehow combined in the task as a whole. Grading of the pre-tasks may be possible, but the model seems to involve a sudden increase in effort at the end of a sequence, when learners have to synthesise past learning. Item repetition may integrate the model (eg two discourse structures integrate unit 1 in Study writing); part-whole integration links pre-tasks to final task(s), yet there is some discontinuity as pre-tasks shift focus from, say, vocabulary to discourse.

An account of course design in Nunan (1989:17) seems to imply support for model (iii), but his later discussion of sequencing in the same book does not promote a particular model. Hutchinson and Waters (1987: chapter 10) advocate a similar model, but one complicated by an initial phase in which an input text

introduces topic content (and perhaps a discourse schema). Semi-official curriculum guidelines in Australia also favour model (iii) (eg Carr et al., 1989).

Models (ii) and (iii) in Pre-reading/Reading Sequences

Sequences in which pre-reading tasks precede reading may reflect either model (ii) or (iii). Tudor's (1990) survey of pre-reading task types in ELT textbooks distinguishes between tasks which do and do not involve access to the final passage. Where a pre-reading task involves some (limited) access to the final passage, the pre-reading/reading sequence arguably parallels the reading processes of skilled readers (or at least options open to skilled readers). A skilled reader might, for example, preview a text by looking at topic sentences and graphic items, thus getting an overview of content and discourse structure before a more detailed reading of the text.

Tudor describes pre-reading tasks in which learners predict "content, structures, or development of the target text on the basis of a partial sampling of [the target text itself]. This can relate to...the title, sub-headings or illustrations, or may involve a skim read of the text as a whole" (1990:328). Thus the relationship between these pre-reading tasks and subsequent reading tasks seems to parallel a real-life process of language use, and so the TSM involved appears to be (iii).

Other pre-reading tasks do not have this kind of relationship with subsequent reading. In one pre-reading task described by Tudor, learners are given an outline of the passage, plus a list of words; they have to predict which words will occur in the passage (without seeing the passage itself). Although this task might be useful, it cannot reflect the normal reading process, since a reader would not normally have access to such outlines and word lists. Rather, it reflects the course designer's analysis of the passage as understood by her - i.e analysis of the "product" of reading. Thus the TSM linking this task to subsequent reading appears to be (iii).

Conclusion

The article presented an account of two instructional strategies. The first is task adaptation to bring classroom tasks into line with learners' existing capacities, and depends on an understanding of learner and task factors. The second strategy is task sequence building to extend learners' capacities; the aim of sequence building is to facilitate performance of complex tasks which otherwise learners either could not attempt, or could not carry out satisfactorily. The article looked at three models

of task sequence and, through examining the structure of these models, tried to identify the learning factors which appear to be exploited in them to facilitate learning. The article also suggested that the models emphasize different aspects of language, and that different theories of learning may be implicit in them.

It remains now to try and state explicitly the learning factors that seem to be involved in the TSMs discussed. I suggest the following list:

a. practice of tasks modified to bring them close to learners' existing capacities;

b. repeated practice of task elements across tasks (whether tasks of the same type or different types);

c. practice of a new task element, or a more demanding form of a familiar element, within a task of a familiar type;

d. repeated practice of instances of a task type arranged in ascending difficulty order through grading;

e. focused practice of components at suitable points within an ongoing macro-task;

f. pre-learning of task elements followed by practice of them within macro-task contexts.

Although (a) is closely associated with the first strategy, it can also be seen as involved in sequence building, since a sequence consists of individual tasks.

Making such factors explicit may allow for empirical investigation of the extent to which they actually enhance learning.

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PART IV

Do Simplified Texts Simplify Language Comprehension for ESL Learners?
Heather Lotherington-Woloszyn

Teaching and Learning Simplification Strategies in a Philippine Classroom (A Pilot Study)
Bonifacio P Sibayan, Ma. Lourdes S Bautista and Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

Measuring Readiness for Simplified Material: A Test of the First 1,000 Words of English
Paul Nation

Appendix

DO SIMPLIFIED TEXTS SIMPLIFY LANGUAGE COMPREHENSION FOR ESL LEARNERS?

Heather Lotherington-Woloszyn

Abstract

Graded readers for ESL learners offer pedagogically simplified and stratified language for educational consumption. However, the nature of this simplified language deserves close inspection. ESL learners' reactions to variously simplified texts underscore the fact that simplifications are not equal, and they may not even be very simple.

This paper looks at how language is simplified for pedagogical purposes. It then reports the results of a study in which ESL learners' reactions to reading variously simplified vs unsimplified texts are explored, and concludes that for ESL learners of intermediate proficiency, simplified versions may be best used for their optical illusion qualities to introduce the content of authentic texts.

The paper identifies features of pedagogical simplification which effectively aided language comprehension as well as those which impeded comprehension or otherwise proved to be unuseful with the samples of ESL learners studied. It also notes how ESL learners' dependency on observable features of pedagogically simplified language may indicate weaknesses that should be addressed strategically in the ESL classroom and not by simplifying the texts they are reading.

Introduction

Publishers' catalogues of ESL resources offer the consumer a choice of simplified texts graded into levels of reading difficulty for ESL learners. This paper looks at how these texts are simplified for pedagogical purposes, and whether simplification improves text comprehensibility.

What is Pedagogically Simplified Language?

Simplified language, within the realm of simplified reading and listening texts intended mainly for pedagogical purposes[1], is a blanket term describing the language of texts which are created or adapted to be more accessible to the reader. As such, simplified language indicates a writing and editing process rather than a particular product. The products of simplification vary according to the framework within which writing and editing decisions are made.

Texts are simplified for pedagogical purposes not only for second language (L_2) learners but also for children who are learning to read in their native language (L_1)[2], and for learners with special educational needs.

How is Language Pedagogically Simplified?

The Publisher's Perspective.

Traditionally, text comprehensibility has been assessed in terms of the linguistic features of the text under the assumption that the ESL learner's difficulty in accessing written language is alleviated through linguistically adapting the text. Studies into the comprehensibility of L_1 texts have underscored the weaknesses in attributing language difficulty to the typical linguistic indices of readability vocabulary difficulty (usually measured in terms of word frequency), sentence, clause and passage length (Davison & Kantor, 1982). Researchers have cautioned that text comprehensibility relies also on features of conceptual readability which are not objectively measurable, such as the overall presentation of ideas, local discourse organization, needed background information, and matters shaping the reader's evaluation of information (Kantor & Davison, 1981); as well as literary qualities of the text (Liebling, 1986).

A recent study of North American publishers of simplified texts intended for ESL learners in Canada indicates, however, that publishers are not concerned solely with linguistic simplification (Lotherington-Woloszyn, 1989). It was found that publishers were considering the following in their simplification schemes:

- the linguistic features of text
- the subject content of the text
- the cultural and background knowledge required to read the text
- the characteristics of the learner and the learning environment
- the presentation and literary merit of the text
- the marketability of the text (Lotherington-Woloszyn, 1989).

A dual-scaling analysis of these considerations indicated the following observable trends in simplification:

> 1) an ESL text-centred approach, focussing on the linguistic features and the cultural references of the text;
>
> 2) a language arts learner-centred approach, focussing on the attractiveness and appropriateness of the text to the reading learner;
>
> 3) a functional social-centred approach, focussing on the sociolinguistic and stylistic treatment of the text. (Lotherington-Woloszyn, 1989, p. 212)

These trends do not necessarily reflect real, conscious approaches to simplification on the part of publishers, but rather statistically observable trends in the data.

The first trend shows that linguistic criteria are still considered to be important indices of text difficulty by publishers of simplified texts. However, the three trends identified accounted for only 52.13% of the total variance in the data, indicating a high degree of heterogeneity in the guiding criteria used by publishers in producing simplified texts.

In other words, publishers' approaches to simplification vary widely. Research on pedagogical simplification has not been sufficiently sensitive to this fact: simplified texts differ in what has been controlled or adapted and how.

The Editor's Perspective.

As Kantor and Davison (1981) point out in reference to L_1 simplified texts, adaptors do not slavishly hold to linguistic constraints in producing these materials. Editorial discretion plays a major role in the creation of a simplified text. With this in mind, a case study was made of the simplification strategies employed by two editors who adapted two one-page texts for young adult ESL learners of intermediate language proficiency (see Appendices A, B).

The participating editors were recommended by publishers of simplified materials on the market for ESL learners in Canada. They each adapted the two texts for the stated audience, according to their usual procedures, and then at a later interview, clarified and explained their editing decisions. These decisions are summarized in Figure 1.

Editor$_A$

reorganize

-order of information in text, paragraphs, and sentences

cut

-information that is redundant, unnecessary

-inappropriate stylistic devices

clarify

-implicit and unclear information by making it explicit

-necessary background information

-cohesive ties by using lexical repetition, reference; by avoiding ellipsis

shorten

-sentences to reflect 1 idea per sentence

-paragraphs if too many ideas are introduced per paragraph

simplify

-lexis by: in-text glossing; paraphrasing; using a more common word; providing a richer context for unfamiliar words; replacing a hard word with a defining phrase

Editor$_B$

cut

-information that is redundant, unnecessary, peripheral, and logically deducible

-difficult, inessential words

-names; quotes

replace

-conjunctive links between/within sentences to compensate for cuts

-imprecise, circumlocutory wording with simpler but semantically equivalent structures

-cohesive ties to agree with cuts affecting person, and number

clarify

-cohesive ties where compensation for deletions is needed

(Lotherington-Woloszyn, 1989, p.91)

Figure 1: This is what Editor$_A$ and Editor$_B$ did to simplify Texts 1 and 2.

It is evident from the editors' simplification strategies and from their simplified versions of Texts 1 and 2 (see Appendices C and D) that simplification of a text can result in markedly different versions.

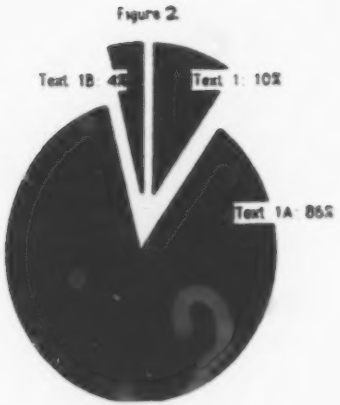
Are Simplified Texts more Comprehensible to ESL Learners than Unsimplified Texts?

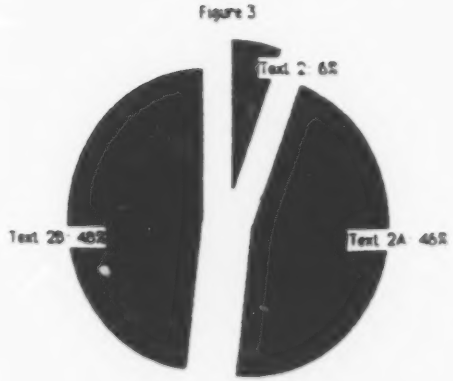
To explore this question, a study was conducted with thirty-six ESL learners at the university-entrance level who were assessed as having intermediate proficiency in English. The subjects, who were foreign students[3] enrolled in a preparatory English for academic purposes course at a university in Canada, read, recalled and commented on the texts which the editors had simplified, in all three versions: original (Texts 1, 2), simplified by $Editor_A$ (Texts 1A, 2A) and simplified by $Editor_B$ (Texts 1B, 2B).

The subjects were interviewed twice. During each sitting, they read the three versions of one text. The presentation order of both the texts and the versions was counterbalanced. The subjects orally recalled only the first version of the text presented to them at each sitting. They evaluated the relative difficulty of the versions and indicated the features of each version that they believed to be causing them comprehension problems with a highlighter pen.

The subjects' comprehension of the texts was assessed in terms of number of idea units recalled (cf: Carrell, 1985). Subjects' stated comprehension problems were also documented in terms of idea units.

The findings of the study were most interesting. T-test results[4] showed that none of the text versions was significantly better comprehended by the subjects ($p<.05$ against set of pairs). Subjects, however, identified the simplified versions as simplified; they ranked the original versions of both texts as being the hardest to comprehend, and they ranked both simplified versions produced by $Editor_A$ and the simplification of Text 2 by $Editor_B$ as being easiest, as can be seen in Figures 2 and 3.





Figures 2 and 3

Subjects' ranking of the easiest versions of each text.

However, subjects did not show significant differences in their comprehension of the text versions as measured in terms of number of idea units recalled.

Subjects underrated their ability to comprehend the unsimplified texts. They also overrated their comprehension of the simplified versions, especially those created by Editor$_B$. This was evident in the high number of problems reported per idea unit in the B versions of the texts during the discussion of what was unclear or difficult to understand in each text.

This sample of intermediate proficiency ESL learners thought that the simplified versions they read were easier to comprehend (with the exception of Text 1B) and that the original versions were more difficult to comprehend. However, they did not show significant differences in comprehension as measured by quantity of idea units recalled. Furthermore, they reported a high proportion of comprehension problems in the versions simplified by Editor$_B$, suggesting that they were fooled by appearances into thinking that what looked simplified was actually more comprehensible than the original. Part of this optical illusion may be attributable to reduced text length, as Editor$_B$ placed a high priority on the strategy of cutting out inessential information, which effectively reduced text length.

Optimal and Interfering Simplification Strategies

It is interesting to explore the features of text these ESL learners pinpointed as contributing to comprehension difficulties. Although subjects overwhelmingly attributed comprehension problems to difficult vocabulary items (77.9% of problems identified), the particular idea units they identified as unclear or problematic indicated other probable sources of interference in comprehension.

In particular, subjects reported having problems with idea units which had been reduced in the simplified versions through the deletion of redundant information. Thus, the redundancy maintained in the original texts was helpful to these ESL learners. Cutting out redundant information, a simplification strategy used by both Editor$_A$ and Editor$_B$, tended to impede comprehension.

The editors' text adaptations were of limited help where an unknown vocabulary item was pinpointed as causing comprehension difficulty. Subjects made poor use of in-text glosses, a simplification strategy used by Editor$_A$, thereby demonstrating inadequate reading strategies. Indeed, the fact that subjects evaluated text comprehensibility largely in terms of perceived vocabulary difficulty indicates that they may be placing too much attention on word meaning, and not enough on text meaning. This tendency to read words rather than text can be addressed strategically in the ESL classroom.

It is possible that these ESL learners had been taught to focus on vocabulary in reading L_2 texts. Certainly, pedagogically prepared texts with highlighted "new vocabulary" draw the learner's attention to the word level of meaning. Geva and Ryan (1985) have found that highlighting conjunctions in text significantly affects reading comprehension. It is worth questioning whether reading pedagogically treated text with highlighted vocabulary interferes with ESL learners' acquisition of good reading strategies.

A default of the interview procedure was that subjects were exposed to novel content in three successive versions with each text. Through this repeated exposure to content, the importance of background knowledge in contributing to text comprehensibility became evident to the subjects. The importance of background knowledge in reading has been widely reported in the research literature (Bernhardt, 1984; Carrell, 1983; Carrell & Wallace, 1983; Johnson, 1982; Koh, 1985; Swaffar, 1988). It is noteworthy that $Editor_A$ used the strategy of clarifying background information.

The results of this study suggest that simplification, if done at all, should be elaborative: focussing on supplying redundancy and necessary background knowledge. It also suggests that ESL learners may have a greater need for learning better reading strategies, such as identifying in-text glosses and learning how to use contextual guessing with unknown vocabulary, than for reading simplified texts. However, simplifications may provide access to the content of original texts by inducing ESL learners to read what they think is an easier version. In this regard, simplified versions used judiciously, may help to provide ESL learners with the background knowledge needed for confidently reading an original, unsimplified text.

Conclusion

Do Simplified Texts Simplify Language Comprehension?

In this study, simplification did not significantly affect text comprehensibility. However, simplification did affect the subjects' attitude to the text: ESL learners expected simplification to improve text comprehensibility. Certain strategies of simplification were found to have an observable effect, viz., the deletion of redundancy was found to have a negative effect on text comprehensibility, and the familiarity of background knowledge was found to have a positive effect.

On the whole, subjects demonstrated poor reading strategies by relying too much on word meaning. They were also fooled by the apparently simplified surface features of the simplified texts, such as vocabulary difficulty and text length, when in fact, these versions were not easier for them to comprehend than the original texts.

Do simplified texts help ESL learners to read? Yes, if they attract them to text but not *because* they are simplified, according to the findings of this study. In fact, it is worth investigating whether reading pedagogically simplified texts exacerbates ESL learners dependency on poor reading strategies by appearing to facilitate comprehension through simplification of language.

Language comprehension is complex; simplified texts may play a role in attracting ESL learners to read, but, in this study, simplification did not facilitate language comprehension.

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Notes

This paper is based on research conducted towards my doctoral dissertation. I dedicate this paper to the memory of the two people who helped me most in my doctoral research: my husband, Jarek Woloszyn, for his undying support, and my thesis supervisor, Professor Michael Canale, for his careful guidance through my study. May they both rest in peace.

I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada who funded the research reported in this paper.

1. Adapted reading and listening texts may be prepared for the purposes of general entertainment, as well, as in the case of abridged novels in print or audiotaped form.

2. Basal readers, usually written to conform to readability formulae are examples of simplified texts for L_1 children.

3. Subjects came from Asia, Latin America, Europe, Africa and the Middle East, and were native speakers of 13 different languages.

4. A two-tailed t-test using the Bonferroni method of testing pair-wise comparisons was used.

Appendix A : Text 1 (Original)

Text 1 : Telltale hair.

Do Cokeheads have hot hair?

The answer to that question holds a potential way out for employers who wish to test workers or job applicants for drug use but are reluctant to face the delicate task of asking for urine or blood samples. Not surprisingly, executives and assembly-line workers often balk at the indignity of testing. But people might object less to losing just a snippet of hair, particularly if it meant a less demeaning and more accurate method of drug screening. The question is relevant because scientists have discovered that human hair holds a permanent record of all chemicals that a person taken.

Los Angeles Chemist Werner Baumgartner has developed a new drug test that utilizes radiation. When performed on human hair, it reveals what drugs have been taken and, unlike blood or urine tests, shows when the chemicals were consumed.

Baumgartner and his partner, Psychopharmacologist Ronald Siegel, claim that the hair test is more reliable than urinalysis. The San Diego-based Navy Drug Rehabilitation Center has been using the test on an experimental basis since last December. At the same time, Baumgartner and Siegel are training technicians so that the test can be tried on a broader scale.

A fascinating sidelight of the research is that the test can be used on preserved hair samples from long-dead famous figures. Among samples that Baumgartner and Siegel have analyzed are locks belonging to John Keats, the 19th century poet. The test confirmed scholars' suspicions that the author of "Ode on a Grecian Urn" was an opium user.

(TIME, March 17, 1986)

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Appendix B : Text 2 (Original)

Text 2 : Dangerous stowaways.

For almost 20 years scientists have charted the northward migration of the so-called "killer" bees. The aggressive insects are descendants of two dozen African queen bees which escaped during experiments in Brazil in 1957 and began to interbreed with indigenous bees in that country. Scientists had forecast that because of the insects' natural tendency to spread in all directions, they would arrive in the Southern United States by 1988. But when U.S. officials identified a colony of 50 bees found near Lost Hills, California, last month as Africanized bees, it became clear that the insects had arrived early and in a way no one had foreseen: aboard ships carrying oil-drilling equipment from Brazil. Meanwhile, in the Lake Ontario port of Oswego, N.Y., scientists are searching for Africanized bees which may have escaped from a colony found aboard a Brazilian freighter last summer and subsequently destroyed. Said entomologist Roger Morse, head of the upper New York state been hunt: "When you realize the tremendous air and sea traffic, every place is a suspect."

The Africanized bees have been spreading northward at the rate of about 200 miles a year. Although their sting is no more toxic than that of the European honeybee found in North America, their wild swarms and repeated attacks against intruders have made them a threat in South America. Scientists say the bees will not survive the winter in latitudes higher than California or North Carolina. Still, they claim that interbreeding between the less productive Africanized bees and European honeybees could produce an insect that is less inclined to seek nectar and cross-pollinate crops. Said Kevin Ker, a pest-management specialist with Ontario's agriculture ministry: "Because the killer bee is less active, there is the potential to harm agriculture."

In fact, some scientists predict that a high level of breeding between the two species could result in an annual North American crop loss of as much as $58 million. As well, Africanized bees found in Oswego carried mites, parasites that feed on honeybees and can potentially destroy honeybee colonies. Said Ker of the Africanized bee: "It is really just like any pest. No one likes to hear it is in their area."

(MACLEANS, September 2, 1985)

Appendix C : Text $1_{\hat{A}}$ (Simplified by Editor $_{\hat{A}}$);
Text $1_{\hat{B}}$ (Simplified by Editor $_{\hat{B}}$)

Text $1_{\hat{A}}$: Telltale hair.

Many employers wish to test workers or people applying for work to see if they use drugs. Until now, the only ways to test for drug use were urine or blood testing. Many workers did not like these methods. They made them feel embarrassed and undignified. Employers had a problem!

Now, along has come Werner Baumgartner, an American chemist. He has developed a new drug test that can be used on human hair. Using radiation, it shows what drugs have been taken into the body. It even shows when the drugs were taken. And those being tested lose only a snippet of hair, an easy and quick sample!

Baumgartner and his partner, Ronald Siegel, also say that this hair test is more accurate than urinalysis, the testing of the urine. And . . . the test can be used on the hair of long-dead famous people. Tests already show that what scholars have been saying about the nineteenth century poet Keats is true: he did use opium!

Text $1_{\hat{B}}$: Telltale hair.

Do cokeheads have hot hair?

The answer to that question holds a potential way out for employers who wish to test workers or job applicants for drug use but are reluctant to face the delicate task of asking for urine or blood samples. However, people might object less to losing just a snippet of hair, particularly if it meant a less demeaning and more accurate method of drug screening.

A Los Angeles chemist has developed a new drug test that utilizes radiation. When performed on human hair, it reveals what drugs have been taken and, unlike blood or urine tests, shows when the chemicals were consumed.

A fascinating sidelight of the research is that the test can be used on preserved hair samples from long-dead famous figures, for example, John Keats, the 19th century poet. The test confirmed scholars' suspicions that the author of "Ode on a Grecian Urn" was an opium user.

Appendix D : Text 2_A (Simplified by Editor $_A$):
Text 2_B (Simplified by Editor $_B$)

Text 2_A : Dangerous stowaways.

For almost 20 years, scientists have been charting the steady northward migration of the "killer" or Africanized bees. These insects are descendants of two dozen African queen bees which escaped during experiments in Brazil in 1957 and began to breed with bees in Brazil. Scientists expected the bees to arrive in the southern United States in 1988. And sure enough -- U.S. officials found a colony of 50 Africanized bees near Lost Hills, California, last month. But the bees had arrived early, and they had arrived aboard ships carrying oil-drilling equipment from Brazil!

Last summer, other sea-loving bees were found aboard a Brazilian freighter and were destroyed. Or so it was thought. Scientists are searching for Africanized bees which may have escaped destruction.

Because these bees seem to be able to travel using human transportation facilities, all of North America seems vulnerable to them. They have been spreading northward at a rate of about 200 miles a year. Scientists say the bees will not survive the winter north of California or North Carolina, but no one knows for certain.

Is the spread of these bees something to be concerned about? The sting of the Africanized bee is no more dangerous than that of the European honeybee found in North America. However, the bees' wild swarms and repeated attacks against intruders have made them a threat in South America. Also, breeding between the less productive Africanized bee and the European honeybees could produce a bee that is lazier -- a bee that will not actively seek nectar and will therefore not help to pollinate crops. Some scientists predict that this could result in an annual North America crop loss of as much as $58 million. Also, the bees which escaped destruction after leaving the Brazilian freighter have been found to carry mites, parasites that eat honeybees and can destroy honeybee colonies.

Kevin Ker, a pest-management specialist with Ontario's agriculture ministry says of the Africanized bee: "It is really just like any pest. No one likes to hear it is in their area." Perhaps he's underestimating the problem. What do you think?

Text 2_B : Dangerous stowaways.

For almost 20 years scientists have charted the northward migration of the so-called "killer" bees. The aggressive insects are descendants of two dozen African queen bees which escaped in Brazil in 1957 and began to breed with bees in that country. When U.S. officials identified a colony of 50 Africanized bees near Lost Hills, California, it became clear that the insects had arrived in a way no one had foreseen: aboard ships carrying oil-drilling equipment from Brazil. Meanwhile, scientists in Oswego, New York are searching for Africanized bees which may have escaped from a colony found aboard a Brazilian freighter last summer.

Although the sting of the Africanized bees is no more toxic than that of the European honeybee found in North America, their repeated attacks against intruders have made them a threat in South America. Scientists say the bees will not survive the winter north of California or North Carolina. Still, they claim that interbreeding could produce an insect that is less inclined to seek nectar and cross-pollinate crops. The result could be an annual North American crop loss of as much as $58 million. As well, Africanized bees found in Oswego carried mites, parasites that feed on honeybees and can potentially destroy honeybee colonies.

TEACHING AND LEARNING SIMPLIFICATION STRATEGIES IN A PHILIPPINE CLASSROOM
A Pilot Study

Bonifacio P Sibayan, Ma. Lourdes S Bautista and Andrew Gonzalez, FSC

1. Introduction

1.1. Simplification in this Essay

Simplification (S) is used in this paper as any means taken to make anything easier to understand so that it may be taught and/or learned. S also means doing things in a better (simpler) way so as to make understanding and learning more economical and more efficient. However, simplified material, for example, an adaptation or condensation of a story or essay for use in lower primary classes or in ESL situations or classes which may be thought as simpler, may actually be more difficult (see Blau 1982, Johnson 1981). It is for these, among other reasons, that S is actually a continuous or periodic process in the constant search for better teaching and learning materials and procedures.

1.2 Settings for S in ESL: From Large to Small Settings: Nation to Classroom or From "Global" (National) to "Small" (Classroom) Concerns

We contend that S should take into account the various settings for S. Much of the research and treatment of S in TESOL or ESL does not take into account the different settings for TESOL OR ESL such as the following.

1.2.1. *Situation 1:* ***In Addition To***

ESL may be taught or learned as *in addition to* where the learners are educated in an intellectualized language which is their first language and ESL may be for cultural or other secondary purposes. For example, in the German and American cases, learning a second language is generally in *addition to* German and English.

1.2.2. *Situation 2: Transfer of Technology*

ESL is for transfer of technology as in the Korean and Japanese cases. Learners, as in the early stages of the Korean and Japanese cases, are adult scientists, already educated in their fields of specialization in Korean or Japanese, who need to have access to scientific and technological knowledge not available in their languages, but available in English or German, etc. as a second language.

1.2.3. *Situation 3a: Foreign Language Main Working Language*

The foreign language (English) is the *main language for acquiring an education and main language of work*. The national language is on its way to intellectualization and is taught both as a subject and as language (medium) of instruction in some subjects in all grades especially in the primary schools. This is the Philippine case.

1.2.4. *Situation 3b: National Language Main Language for Primary and Lower-Middle Education; Second Language for Higher Intellectual Education*

There are nations where the main language of securing an education especially in the primary grades and secondary school is the national language. The foreign language (English) is taught after primary school. The foreign language, however, is the main language for acquiring advanced scientific knowledge and technology. Examples are Indonesia and Malaysia. In Indonesia, for example, 85% of higher education level materials are accessed through English (This statement is based on information given by an Indonesian speaker during the first Asean Fulbright scholars reunion in Manila in November 1991).

1.3. Simplification and the Problem of Shorter Periods Allocated to the Second Language

One of the biggest problems confronting developing (third world) countries at present, most of them former colonies using the colonial language as the main language of access to science and technology, is the shortened period that may be allocated to learning the colonial language mainly due to the effort of these countries to develop a national language with the aim that such a national language may eventually replace the colonial language in most of the controlling domains of language.

This program to continue to teach the colonial language and at the same time develop the national language has severely shortened the time that may be allocated to learning the colonial language, without wishing to sacrifice the quality of the colonial language because it is (still, as in the Philippine case) the main language of government, science, technology, higher education, and other domains.

The foregoing situation calls for the highest type of expertise in simplification: what part(s) of the language should be taught and how should they be taught so that the quality (of English, for example) that was learned under longer periods and with more learning materials will still be the same if not better? how can the limited time allocated be used more efficiently?

The art and science of S here calls for knowledge and expertise in knowing those components of the second language that are essential and crucial to be learned so that it (the second language) may still function as an efficient tool for access to the world's knowledge.

1.3.1. Lesson from the Philippine Experience with the Philippine Center for Language Study Materials

Simplification has important implications for teacher education, both pre- and in-service. When changes in S are made, especially major ones, there should be a thorough re-orientation or re-training of those who will administer the program: administrators, supervisors, especially practicing teachers who will carry out the program; otherwise the results of the change in S will be disastrous. This is exemplified by the Philippine experience with the Grades I and II guides in teaching English as a second language which had features of both linguistic and pedagogical simplification, but most especially, linguistic simplification, couched in unfamiliar (to the traditional teacher who did not take up any linguistics courses) technical terms such as 'intonational contour', 'juncture', etc.

The materials which were praised even in international circles in second language teaching were soon abandoned by teachers of English because they did not know which parts were basic and could not be skipped and which parts could be skipped. This experience dramatizes the principle that it is necessary for all those who have to use simplified materials to have good training in the change in S.

1.4. Natural vs Classroom (Artificial) Setting for Learning

It is our contention that because the learning of a language by a child in a natural setting (for example, his/her native language or a language learned in the community where the learner is an immigrant) differs from the teaching/learning situation in a formal classroom, the two situations demand different treatment. The first situation is unstructured and the 'teachers' [source of learning] and the 'subject matter' are so varied that both 'teacher' and 'learner' simply go ahead and use whatever vocabulary or 'expression' is needed by the situation without need for simplification.

In contrast, in the formal classroom situation, (1) there is a group of children of varying abilities; (2) the children are expected to learn various kinds of subject matter (arithmetic, science, geography, formal reading, language, civics, etc.) so, that unless both subject matter and methods are systematized (which may be another word for one kind of simplification), learning may not take place. There is simply not enough time to teach (learn on the part of the student) what needs to be taught unless some form of simplification (systematization may be a better word) is made.

It must be noted here that certain language exercises (or many teaching-learning exercises) may be considered 'unnatural' or not 'authentic' language but so is the kicking of a ball by a soccer player around or between posts or the piano exercises that a young piano player practices to gain proficiency in soccer or piano.

1.5. Pressures and Motivations for Teaching/Learning the Foreign Language

As suggested above, the pressures and motivations for teaching or learning the second language differ (1) from country to country, (2) from one ethnic first language background to another, as in the Philippine case where native Tagalogs are advantaged in learning and using Filipino as a language of instruction (Gonzalez and Sibayan 1988), and (3) from one socio-economic status to another. The implications of these on the kind of simplification may have to be studied very carefully. Thus the 'simplified' learning materials in ESL for each country may differ considerably.

1.6. Types of Simplification

Our main concern in this paper is the simplification of linguistic or language matter (phenomena) for use in teaching and learning in schools and that of materials and methods for teaching and learning. Two kinds of S are treated, viz., linguistic/language S (LS) and pedagogical S (PS).

Pedagogical Simplification is divided into (1) content or subject matter S (SMS) and (2) methods, teaching procedures and styles of teaching, or simply teaching procedures S (TPS).

LS may treat such matters as (1) grammar, (2) vocabulary, (3) idioms.

PS may have to do with such matters as (1) S of subject matter content which may consist of (a) text, (b) teaching aids such as audio-visual materials and (2) methods of teaching and learning that have to do with *(2a) pedagogical S strategies* and *(2b) learning (i.e. learner's) S strategies*. We treat (2a) and (2b) in the pilot study that we report in this paper.

1.7. Orientation of S

PS may be (1) teacher oriented S, for example, a teacher's manual or guide or syllabus showing both graded (cut-up) subject matter and methods or procedures, (2) learner oriented S, for example, a good workbook on any school subject, not only that of language as a subject, (3) curriculum writer and/or textbook or other teaching materials writer oriented which combine both subject matter content and methods/procedures simplification.

References such as books, monographs, encyclopaedias, etc, may be considered *variations/varieties* of S on any given subject as these materials make things clearer; hence they help simplify towards complexity.

The teacher is both *recipient* of S, i.e. he/she understands both LS and PS, and *agent*, i.e. he/she can make the teaching/learning act work through S. The student is most often the recipient of S but in practically all learning cases, learners are agents, i.e. they evolve their own learning simplification strategies as reported in this paper (see Espiritu 1990).

There may be situations or cases where the line between PS and LS is tenuous or blurred so that treating the matter simply as simplification may be a more fruitful line of treatment. For example, an adaptation or condensation of a story or essay for reading may be an exercise in both LS and PS.

1.8. Goal of Simplification

In our view, the main goal of simplification in teaching, especially formal classroom teaching, is simplification which leads to complexification or the understanding of that which is complex. A good product of any simplification exercise may result in what Pienemann (1989:54-55) calls 'acquisition sequences' or 'pro-acquisitional chronologies' which we shall simply call *teaching-learning* sequences or chronologies.

1.9. Pedagogical Idiom

Teaching-learning sequences or chronologies may be classified into four kinds: (1) allocations of subject matter content of, say, literature to the various grade levels from primary to secondary to tertiary level with simple rhymes and children's poetry, mother goose rhymes, Aesop's fables assigned in the lower grades and adaptations of Hans Christian Andersen's and Grimm's fairy tales at the upper primary levels; the short story and short novels in high school; Shakespeare, Milton, Goethe at the tertiary levels. These large 'chunks' of subject matter content chronologies are generally assigned by curriculum writers on a nationwide scale.

The various chronologies are then 'cut up' into still finer chronologies for each grade level accompanied by teacher's guides with appropriate suggestions for introducing, reviewing, reinforcing strategies. In a number of cases, these are still simplified for pupil or student learning with workbooks, etc.

These teaching-learning chronologies are taught to candidate teachers in teacher education institutions and in in-service education of teachers.

The whole body of teaching-learning materials in these chronologies in various subjects or disciplines consisting of an entire body of texts, teacher's guides (syllabi), student aids and references couched in a language peculiar to teaching we call pedagogical idiom (PI). All teachers and other personnel engaged in the teaching-learning act and to some extent, students, have to become familiar with this pedagogical idiom as mastery of the PI is a must for teaching. The PI

summarizes what a teacher must know in order to be able to teach systematically and effectively.

Failure to learn the PI on the part of the teacher (and on the part of the supervisor and administrator) often leads to failure in the teaching-learning process.

1.10. Some Important Facts About S

In general, younger and slower learners need more S, especially PS. On the other hand, more mature and brighter students need less S, especially teacher simplification strategies.

One can simplify only that which one knows: the better the understanding by the simplifier of that which is being simplified, the better the simplification is.

1.11. Who Should Do or Help in Simplification?

The answer to the foregoing question may be: (1) theoretical and applied researchers in psychology, sociology, pedagogy, e.g. Pienemann (1989), (2) subject matter content experts, for example, those who know the phonology, grammar, idioms, etc. of the language that is to be taught or those who know mathematics, science, etc, (3) methods or pedagogical researchers, e.g. Blau (1982), Johnson (1981), (4) curriculum and textbook writers, (5) administrators and supervisors of school programs, and (5) practicing teachers.

1.12. Some Examples of S

1.12.1. 'Taglish' (the Developing Filipino), as a Form of Linguistic Simplification

In the case of Taglish, it has been observed that a person trying to communicate orally in Filipino may encounter many concepts not immediately 'expressible' through Tagalog. The speaker conveniently shifts to an English vocabulary item (a type of code-switching) with the English word borrowed in toto or 'Tagalized' with the use of Tagalog morphological constructions, e.g. *Rinecord namin* (we recorded [it]). Filipino scholars giving lectures in their scholarly field often use this style which is now resulting in intellectualized Filipino through borrowings from English.

1.12.2. Examples of Linguistic Simplification for Pedagogical Purposes

1.12.2.1. *From Simple to Complex*

(1) This (That) is a ball (chair, table, guava, etc.)
(2) These (Those) are (two, three) balls (chairs, tables, guavas, etc.)
(3) This is a big (small) ball (ball, table, etc.)

1.12.2.2. *From the Long (Complex?) to the Short (Simpler?)*

First stage:

(1) Teacher: What is your name?
Pupil: My name is Pedro.

(1a) T: Is this a red ball (showing a yellow ball).

P: No, it is not a red ball.

Later stage:

(1) T: What is your name?

P: Pedro.

T: Is this a red ball? (showing a yellow ball).

P: No.

Later stages:

P:	Yes, it is a red ball.	No, it is not a red ball.
	Yes, it is red.	No, it is a yellow ball.
	Yes, it is.	No, it is not.
	Yes.	No, it isn't.
		No.

It is not known whether the insistence of the Thomasites (first American teachers in the Philippines) that pupils speak (or answer) in 'complete' sentences first before giving short answers was based on 'intuition' or on research knowledge, but it worked with Filipino students. Compare the findings on the effect of syntax on readability where the investigator found that '...the short, primarily simple sentences ... are obstacles to comprehension' (Blau 1982:525).

1.12.3. Background Material

Background material as a variety of S is often necessary especially in understanding unfamiliar subject matter (especially that which is culturally different). Such background material may be in the form of other simplification materials such as audio-visual and other electronic devices like films, movies, pictures, etc. [see Johnson (1981)].

1.12.4. Genres

The learning of a language through various genres is a type of S that was a favorite of the early teachers of English in the Philippines. For example, four things were done with a song: it was sung, the lyrics were recited as poetry, it was read with emphasis on proper rhythm, and often it was written in notebooks kept for the purpose (Sibayan 1991).

1.13. The Classroom: the Final Testing Ground for Simplification

The quality or lack of quality and the success or failure of any simplification is tested in the classroom where teachers and pupils interact. It is in the classroom where the final 'menu' is 'cooked' by both teacher and pupil. The best planned S materials may fail in the hands of poorly prepared teachers and incompetent supervisors. On the other hand, crudely prepared S materials may succeed in the hands of master teachers and excellent supervisors.

1.13.1. On the Spot or Ad Hoc Simplification or Classroom Simplification Strategies

This kind or style of simplification is responsible for much of the teacher talk that takes place in practically all Philippine classrooms, whether primary,

secondary or post-secondary. When students do not understand the lesson, teachers strive to make the lesson clear by various means: through varied and repeated questioning, prompting, explanations, the use of unfinished sentences where the student is supposed to complete a statement, a form of filling the blank with the right answer, etc. This type of S may be wasteful and it often deprives the student from doing much of the thinking and talking. (There were many examples of this type of simplification in the pilot study.)

1.13.2. Teacher and Learner Strategies of S

In the teaching-learning act, especially in the formal classroom situation, both teacher and pupil continuously struggle to simplify: the teacher employs strategies to have pupils understand the lesson and the pupils themselves strive to employ strategies of simplification in order to learn both the subject matter and the language of instruction. (We treat such simplification strategies extensively in the pilot study.)

1.14. Rationale for the Pilot Study

It is because of the above belief, that the classroom is the testing or probing ground for S materials, that the writers conducted the pilot study which we now turn to.

2. The Pilot Study

2.1. The Data

The data for this study came from a data base for a study of questioning and responding in Philippine Literature classes (Bautista 1987). For that study, six classes were included -- three classes taught in Filipino and three classes taught in English. For this paper, one class taught in Filipino and another taught in English were chosen for closer study. These two classes were purposely chosen because they evinced more instances of student talk and showed a richer discussion of the literary topics under study. Whereas the four other classes dealt much with the history of particular genres or elicited many recall responses or presented a dramatization of certain selections, these two classes showed discussion and analysis going on and thus they seemed a better source for a study of pedagogical simplification strategies than the other classes.

The transcripts of one-hour tapes of two sessions per class (altogether, four transcripts) were analyzed for this pilot study. Table 1 gives an overview of the distribution of teacher talk, student talk, and author talk ('author talk' here refers to the teacher's or student's reading aloud of passages from a selection under study) in these four transcripts.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Teacher, Student, and Author Talk

Classes	No. of Typescript Lines				% of Talk		
	Teacher	Student	Author	Total	Teacher	Student	Author
Fil A	404	199	0	603	67.0	33.0	0.0
B	363	155	92	610	59.5	25.4	15.1
Eng A	544	162	17	723	75.2	22.4	2.4
B	481	122	21	624	77.0	19.6	3.4

Student talk in these four transcripts is relatively high, considering that, in the bigger data base, student talk in the three English classes (x two sessions each) averaged 18.6% and in the three Filipino classes (x two sessions each) averaged 25.5%. But placed beside Flanders' famous two-thirds rule, where the teacher talks two-thirds of the time and the students one-third, student talk in these classes is still low.

2.2. The Teachers and the Students

The two classes included in this study come from De La Salle University, a private, sectarian university in Manila, Philippines. It is considered to be one of the top three universities in the country and attracts the most promising youth of the land.

The students included in the sample are freshmen and sophomores who, following the Philippine educational system, have completed seven years of elementary school and four years of high school and one year of college (if they are sophomores). Their average age is seventeen. They are products of the Bilingual Education Policy, implemented beginning in 1974; if their elementary and high

schools had implemented the Policy strictly, they would have had English as medium of instruction for their Science, Mathematics, and English Communication Arts classes, and Filipino as medium for the other classes. (In reality, however, many schools still teach social studies subjects in English.) Since the tuition of De La Salle is among the highest in the country, many of the students belong to the upper or upper-middle socio-economic classes and are mostly residents of Metropolitan Manila. The students therefore have had much exposure to English print and broadcast media and they move in English-speaking circles even as their first language and language in the home is Filipino.

The two teachers are bilingual in both English and Filipino, with the Filipino teacher having her undergraduate and Master's degrees in English although her first language is Filipino. Both of them have had more than ten years of teaching experience and both have received Highly Satisfactory in the student evaluations conducted annually in the University. At the time of the first study, they had both completed their coursework for their doctoral degrees; they have subsequently finished their dissertations and have received their Doctorates in Literature.

The two classes are similar in terms of class size (around 40 per class), academic proficiency (although the Filipino-medium class was a class in Computer Studies, and Computer Studies students are acknowledged to be the best students on campus in terms of academic potential), and male-female ratio.

2.3. Towards a Methodology

This pilot study used close reading of the protocols as its main methodology. Except for the table above on the distribution of teacher, student, and author talk in the four transcripts, there was no attempt to do frequency counts or statistical analysis because the data base was small and the main purpose was to identify teacher and learner simplification strategies and formulate a typology of strategies.

An early reading of the protocols showed that the data were rich in pedagogical/learning simplification strategies but showed very few instances of linguistic simplification. Thus, subsequent analysis mainly focused on pedagogical/learning simplification although the few instances of linguistic simplification were also noted.

Gonzalez and Bautista worked on the English and Filipino protocols separately. Looking at their respective data, they attempted to come up with categories and subcategories of pedagogical/learning simplification.

The authors used the following definition of pedagogical simplification: Anything used by the teacher to make it easier for the learner to understand a lesson or to give a response to a question. Thus, 'pedagogical simplification' was the term used exclusively for teacher strategies. Learning simplification strategies, on the other hand, were any strategies used by the learner to make it easier to understand a lesson or to give a response to the teacher's question.

At a subsequent session, they compared their categorization system and tried to reconcile the labels for the categories. A second reading of the protocols was done to ensure that no strategies had been missed. The categories and examples from the English protocols and the Filipino protocols form the findings given in the next section.

Clearly, there are limitations to the study. The sample cannot be representative of Philippine Literature classes taught in English and in Filipino in even just one Philippine university because it is too small -- one class each for English and Filipino and just two sessions per class. Furthermore, there are factors related to subject matter -- the two teachers discussed different genres in their classes: the English-medium teacher discussed two short stories in the two sessions while the Filipino-medium teacher discussed two short stories, five poems, and one essay. Obviously, one teacher treated the literary text under consideration more in depth than the other.

There are also interlocutor-related variables, the competencies and skills which these specific teachers and students brought to the classroom, plus the attitudes they had toward each other and other participants. In this case, as pointed out earlier, the two sections were similar in their socio-economic background and in their language background. At the time of taping, the two teachers were similar in their academic credentials in terms of post-baccalaureate degrees and teaching experience. Both obviously enjoyed teaching young people and, as a result, had a tendency to talk too much. As for the atmosphere in the class at the time of taping, the two classes exuded the same air of easy give-and-take between the teacher and students, with the two teachers able to create a relaxed but alert learning mood in their classes. The students felt completely at ease with each other and with their teacher.

Even with these limitations and the qualitative nature of the findings, the study can shed light on whatever actually happens in the classroom in terms of strategies teachers employ to make their students understand a lesson and be able to respond to their questioning. At the same time it provides insights into the strategies students employ to make it possible for them to understand a lesson and to answer a teacher's questions.

3. Findings

3.1. General Observations

In general, the sample of protocols of classroom interaction seems to show that the quality of interaction was much richer in the Filipino-taught classes than the English-taught classes, in spite of the fact that the students tested well in English language proficiency based on English language entrance examinations and in spite of the fact that the students belonged to a high socio-economic group which in Philippine society puts a high premium on the English language and uses it frequently for interaction not only in class but likewise outside of it. Apparently, the fact that Tagalog-based Filipino is a first language for most of the students and has received attention since 1974 as the medium of instruction for all other subjects in the curriculum except Mathematics and Science has rendered it a dominant language for the students, in spite of their fluency in English. From the point of view of level of intellectualization, judged by the proportion of written scholarly material in English over Filipino, clearly English is the more intellectualized language. However, in spite of a limited corpus of scholarly literature, Filipino for these students is clearly rapidly being intellectualized.

The evidence for the better quality of interaction in Filipino over English may be found in the frequency of short responses in English, in the observation that responses of students were mostly responses to questions posed by the teacher, with few spontaneous questions from the students, and in the elaborated (non-simplified) responses in Filipino. Even a quick look at the transcripts readily reveals that the turns of speaking in the Filipino-medium class were longer than those in the English class, for both the teacher and the students. This initial observation was in fact confirmed by a comparison of the length of the average turn of speaking in the two classes: The average turn of speaking for the Filipino-medium teacher was 9.75 typescript lines while for the English-medium teacher it was 4.87 lines; for the Filipino-medium students it was 4.83 lines while for the English-medium students it was 1.39 lines. There was much more elaboration going on in the Filipino class, more room for expanding one's thoughts and responses.

Moreover, in terms of what we would label as topical density, indicated by the number of topics treated in a class period and the intellectual depth of the discussion, the Filipino data were clearly much richer than the English data.

With these general observations, we can now focus on strategies of simplification by the teachers (called pedagogical simplification strategies here) and by the students (learning simplification strategies) to arrive at a typology of these strategies based on both the English and the Filipino data.

3.2. Typology of Pedagogical Simplification Strategies in the English Data

The presentation below lists the strategies clustered into main types and subtypes and exemplifies each one by citations from the protocols.

A. EXPLANATION

1. by examples

(a) T: Can you, can you mention, can you remember a specific example of some colorful description, ah? Is there anything that you might remember? Is there a specific scene that strikes you?

S: Ah, for example, (inaudible) ah ( ) she goes to the library, ah (he is really) saying that as she saw the sun's rays towards her in such a way, the author ah, something like, it's a very simple ( ) but the author said something like ah ( ) poetic ( ).

2. by paraphrase or synonyms

(a) S: I don't quite understand what ah ( ) was going on ( ).
T: You couldn't get the point of, ah, story.

(b) T: Ah, Metropolitan-Satellite Relationship. Can you, can somebody say that in simpler terms? Can, can somebody give me a synonym?
S: ( )
T: Ah, who says that? Who said that? Okay, what did you say?
S: Exploitation.
T: Okay, it's exploitation. Now this is a term that I'm more familiar with. Ah, anymore? Yes?

S: Neo-colonial.
T: Neo-colonial, all right. Any more?
S: Re-colonization, re-colonization.
T: Re-colonization, okay.

3. leading to a technical term (to be provided by the lesson)

(a) T: Are you saying that the sentences were choppy, in short, and not seemingly related?
S: Yes.
T: Okay, ah, can you remember the word that would describe that sort of relationship between sentences? What did you use to call that, or what would your teachers in English One say, what's wrong with your paragraph? If you have short choppy sentences which didn't seem logically connected. What would you call that? In-, ha?
S: Incoherent sentences.

B. RESTATEMENT

1. of student's answer
S: Sort of offended her.
T: It offended her so she read something in it that offended her, okay?
S: Ah, it describes her country, her race.
T: Okay, it had something to do with comments on her race, her country, and being a part of that country, she felt personally offended.

2. by analyzing student's response

(a) T: What was your trouble with punctuation marks?
S: Ahm, the sequen-, sequences, letters, it jumps.
T: Sentences were choppy, you mean, they were short and they were jumping from one thing to another.

3. and provision of superordinate categories by asking students to do background research

T: Ah, let's start with some of the, some of the things that I asked you to, okay?, prepare yourselves for the story. Did you ask your parents about what this might have to do with them? Did you ask them about certain words that were

used which may not have been familiar to you but which maybe your parents could have shed some light on? Did you ask them about the songs, clothes that were worn, ah? What else was in it? Can you mention one, can you mention something here that indicated the character of the period which is unfamiliar to you? Yes?

S: Mao-mao.

4. of a student's response with focus on a detail, to continue the line of questioning

(a) S. He wore tight jeans and a red T-shirt.

T: He wore, all right, he wore skin-tight jeans but what kind of T-shirt?

S: Ah, Elvis.

5. of evidence to ask for further evidence

T: What about this other woman in the terno? What do you think of her?

S: Ah, very curious about the people.

T: Okay, that's a good word. She's curious about the people, she's curious about the, the people in a, in the, in our country and she's curious about their culture, and she's curious about the natives. And how does she show this curiosity, for instance. Yes?

S: She's very open about the things she notices, like she, ( ) based on ( ) what she sees.

T: All right, she's also very, she's, she's always ready, as you put it, to praise or criticize what she sees.

C. REPETITION

1. of learner's response and request for further completion

(a) T: He's going to see, go, everybody going around what?

S: Like machines.

T: Like machines and also like?

S: Skeletons.

T: Skeletons, so up to the end of the story, if you cannot see the point in the first, third, you're not going to see much point also, no?

2. of student's response followed by a related leading question to a new sub-topic

T: What sort of scenery do you expect, what kind of people do you expect, when you go to a country as a tourist?

S: Something, something different from your country.

T: Okay, something different from your country, which means something quaint, something you said?

S: Warm and friendly.

T: Okay, warm and friendly people, nice smiling friendly people. What sort of scenes do you expect to see?

D. PROVISION

1. of a frame to be filled in by one or few words

(a) T: ... sometimes when you find yourself in the middle of a traffic jam, a traffic jam that's caused by a what?

S: Rally.

T: Rallies, demonstration, no?

2. of an alternative for choice by the respondent

T: Okay, did you have trouble also with the length of the sentences? What about the length of sentences, what was your problem? Too long, too short, or just, just, ha? Too short?

S: Some sentences seem to be too short and then other sentences seems, seem to be too long.

T: Ah, how did you react? Did you like it? Did you dislike it?

E. CORRECTION OF STUDENT STATEMENT FOLLOWED UP BY QUESTION TO ELICIT FURTHER DETAILS

T: What period do you think this is in?

S: Late '50's.

T: Late '50's?

S: Early '60's.

T: Early '60's. Okay, now, ah, what are the signs in the story that indicate that this might be late '50's, or what did you say, early '60's? Is there anyone who might think that it's late '60's? You, some of you think it's late '60's, okay, so let me know. Ah, yes?

F. SUMMARIZATION

(a) T: So this section on the maids somehow, ah, seems to be peculiar, okay? So we will discuss later on, ah, the peculiarities of these maids' language, okay? and then, ah, let me see, what are the other details that we haven't yet, I think we have, we have, ah, already talked about all the details I asked you to watch out for except for, except for this whole passage of overacting. What are the various things that, ah Bobby condemns as overacting? so you can go on to the next section...

G. CONTEXTUALIZATION (relating what is read to social realities at present)

(a) T: As a tourist, you expect and you see the façade because you're here only for a short time and you choose the places that you're going to see, no? If you stay, you see the reality, that's kind of like the distinction between the slum, which is covered by white fences, no? Which is what our slum areas are notorious for. So you see the white fences if you come here as a tourist.

H. ASKING A LEADING QUESTION

(a) T: Okay, their house is mortgaged or they pay by installment. The same thing with their car, so what socio-economic class do you think this is? Is this the filthy rich, the, or what?

S: Upper middle class.

T: Okay, this would be the upper middle clss which still has certain money problems, but not too much, all right...

I. SETTING UP A CHAIN OF QUESTIONS FOR INFERENTIAL REASONING

(a) T: What would this be?

S: Newspaper,

T: Yes?

S: Newspaper.

T: Newspaper, okay. Now let's, let's take a look at all the, the uses you're giving, no? Someone said it could be Manila paper. Do you still think it's Manila paper?

S: No.

T: No, because ( ) why can't it be Manila paper?

S: (inaudible)

T: Because this is not wrapping paper, it's got print on it, no? It could be newspaper. Do you think it's a newspaper? Why not?

S: (inaudible)

T: Because a newspaper is?

S: White.

T: White and this is rough brown, and it's--

S: It's a single sheet.

T: It's a single sheet of paper, but why do you think it's a newspaper? What was it in the description that made you think it might have been a newspaper?

S: Commentaries, the comments ( ).

T: Okay, there were comments on it, there was a heading and it had print on it. What else could you think of that is rough brown paper with print on it that might offend a woman like Ann which has something, which makes statements against her country or her race?

S: Mimeographed propaganda.

J. UNLOCKING DIFFICULTIES

(a) T: [at the very start of the class] O, bet-, between 'Sounds of Sunday' and 'Candido's Apocalypse', which did you find easier to understand. I remember you were also talking about 'Sounds of Sunday' being troublesome. Which was easier?

S: 'Sounds of Sunday'.

T: So 'Sounds of Sunday' was easier, ah, what were your problems with 'Candido's Apocalypse'? We talked about outdated ideas, no, outdated ah slang, fads. Is there anything else about it that was difficult?

K. CODE-SWITCHING

(a) T: When do they start having their problems?

S: Thirteen.

T: When they're thirteen, okay, so wala pa siyang problema [so he still has no problem]. The, okay, who else?

3.3. Typology of Learning Simplification Strategies in the English Data

The presentation below lists the simplification strategies used by the students in the English-medium class.

A. RESPONDING

1. by volunteering examples

(a) T: Can we go up to this intriguing term and explain yourself?

S: ( ) you have a Metropolis, for example ( ) the United States, and then they have satellites in the world like, for example, the Philippines and other different countries ( ). Now, what they do, they establish a satellite in such a way that, (what they) need from other countries into the Metropolis, and leaving the Met-, the satellite ( ) something like that.

2. by volunteering further details

T: O, are there any more you want to complain about before we now talk about the story and see it as a masterpiece of literature. Any more complaints? Yes?

S: In the start I had a hard time trying to determine who was narrating, who was telling the story, who was talking.

3. by ostension (body language)

T: ... and she knew what the Mao-mao was? What was it like?

S: (demonstrates, laughter)

S: It looks funny.

T: It looks funny, like how?

S: Ah, she said something, it's a mixture of a twist with your arm, you, while you twist, your arms go with the--

4. by comparison (using parang 'as if' like, sort of)

(a) T: And she sang it. What did you think of the song?

S: It's sort of ballad, it's so slow and, and the note seems to be going off the beat.

T: The note seems to be?

S: The pattern ( ). Up, and then down and up.

(b) S: Parang, ah, the country of Dr. Olvido depends on the country of Ann.

B. RESTATEMENT BY RE-LABELLING

T: What would you call this, this relationship, ah, this relationship that is established by the rich with the poor country? When the United States uses the resources of the Philippines? Yes?

S: In political terms, I think you call it a Metropolitan-Satellite relationship.

C. CONSULTING OTHERS

T: I'd really like to know, did you ask somebody to sing it ['In Despair', a song mentioned in the story] for you? Who, whom did you ask?

S: Ahm ( ), the secretary, the secretary in the office.

T: How old is she?

S: Ahm, thirty-eight.

T: Thirty-eight, okay. What-, what was the other song?

Ss: 'God Knows'.

T: Ha? 'God Knows', right. Did anyone ask about 'God Knows'? Did anyone, yes.

S: I asked our maid.

T: You asked your maid. How old is your maid?

S: She sang it, she's thirty-seven.

D. CAREFUL READING

T: How old is Bobby [a main character in the story]?

Ss: Seventeen, eighteen.

T: Okay, it's quite obvious that he is between seventeen and eighteen. Why?

Ss: Subtitle, fourth year high school.

T: It's in the sub-title. All right, it's in the sub-title, 'Stages in the dark night of the heart between seventeen and eighteen' and he's the one who's going through a lot of problems, no. And then of course other clues, like as you mentioned.

S: Fourth year high school.

T: Okay, he's in fourth year high school.

E. CODE-SWITCHING

(a) T: ... did you know automatically what it meant?

S: Parang basta-basta lang ('like it was just like that').

3.4. Observations on the English Data

At bottom, the teacher using English and teaching Philippine Literature written in English uses the Socratic Method by posing question after question, with explanations in-between, to enable the learners, mostly first language speakers of Filipino with university level competence in English as a second language (measured by national and university standardized examinations), to read the texts closely and to appreciate their literary values.

Although she talks too much (teacher talk to student talk is approximately a ratio of 7.5:2.5), she has a friendly and reinforcing atmosphere in class which encourages the students to respond mostly in short words or phrases but occasionally in longer phrases and even sentences. However, spontaneous student-initiated questions are for practical purposes nil.

The types of simplification used by the teacher in her questions consist of breaking down longer units into smaller units for comprehension, paraphrase, analysis and synthesis, and eventually evaluation or appreciation. She uses explanations by examples, paraphrase (including synonyms), details leading to recall of a technical term; restatements of students' answers and analysis of their responses, and through these restatements, leads on to further examples by providing superordinates, by focusing on specific details, or by asking for further evidence; repetition of learners' response as a way to elicit completion of an answer or to lead to a new sub-topic; provision of slots to be filled in by the respondents by a word or group of words, a choice between alternatives; asking a leading question occasionally; correction of student responses followed by a question to furnish further details; setting up a chain of questions to elicit inferential reasoning; unlocking of difficulties by direct questioning; contextualization of what is read to make it relevant by connecting it with the life of the students; summarizing at key points to signal the end of a major topic; and as a matter of last recourse, code-switching to Filipino to explain something.

The types of simplification used by the students, likewise to arrive at comprehension and appreciation of literary texts, are fewer because of fewer opportunities to speak. To clarify subject content in their own minds during the exchanges, the students resorted to explanations by examples or additional details, ostension or body language (physical demonstration in lieu of a verbal description), comparisons using English functors such as like, sort of, and Filipino parang ('it's as if ...'), re-labelling the phenomenon being discussed, consulting others on material about the past, careful reading of the text, and, more frequently than the teacher, as a last resort, code-switching to Filipino.

3.5. Typology of pedagogical simplification strategies in the Filipino data

The presentation below lists the strategies clustered into main types and subtypes and exemplifies each one by citations from the protocols. The Filipino citations are followed by fairly literal English glosses. In certain examples, the whole citation exemplifies the category; in others, certain passages are italicized to indicate the portion that is most relevant to the category being exemplified.

A. EXPLANATION

1. by example
2. by paraphrase or synonyms

T: Kung ang panitikan ay talagang katalista ng pagbabago, at sa lahat ng mga sining wala nang mas mainam upang talagang ilarawan kung ano ang nangyayari sa buhay, papaano din natin makikita yan sa 'Tatlong Salinlahi'? [request for example] 'If literature is a catalyst of change, and of all the arts it is the most effective in depicting the events of life, how can we see this in 'Three Generations'?' [request for example]

S: Siguro, ahm, ay, ahm pinakita ng, ng ng may-akda ng kuwento na, miss, hindi ba nga ang, ang tema ng 'Tatlong Salinlahi' ay may koneksyon sa sexual liberation kaya, ahm, kaya sa panahon ngayon ay, ahm, parang ahm -- iniimply ho na ang sexual liberation ay angkop sa panahon dahil sa ahm sa kuwento ipinakita na, ahm, ang, bale ang, ang naging, ang nagtagumpay sa huli ay ahm yung apo, si, si, ang, yung apo, bale si Chitong na ahm, nag ahm -- siya'y may kaisipang malaya at siya rin ang nag-*impose* nung ano, yung, yung sinasabi kong *sexual liberation*. Iyon ang parang nag-*succeed* sa huli kaya siguro yun ang pinaka, pinaka-gustong bigyan ng *emphasis* noong ano, noong nagsulat, ni Nick Joaquin. [giving of example]

'Perhaps, ahm, ahm, the author showed in the story, Miss, isn't it that the, the theme of 'Three Generations' is connected to sexual liberation and so, ahm, so in these times, ahm, like ahm -- it is implied that sexual liberation suits the times because in the story, it was shown that, that the one who triumphed in the end is the grandson, the grandson, Chito -- he thinks freely and he also imposed what is called sexual liberation. He was the one who succeeded in the end and so that seems to be what the writer, Nick Joaquin, wanted to emphasize.' [giving of example]

T: Tingnan din ninyo ang panitikan sa konteksto ng pagbabagong anyo sa kung ano ang mga tauhan. Siguro ito'y isang bagay na kinakailangan maintindihan ng isang estudyanteng nasa panitikan. Yung bang noong una, yung tradisyunal na mga istorya ay ang laging binibigyan ng emphasis o ng diin ay mga taong kumakatawan sa segmento ng lipunan. Ikaw, kinakatawan mo ito; ikaw naman iba. Kaya walang pang-indibiduwal na identidad ang mga tauhan. Diyan sa kuwentong yan makikita ninyong mabuti ang pagkakalarawan ng indibiduwal dahil yung approach na psychological, sikolohiyang pananaw na ginamit ni Nick Joaquin sa pagsasalin naman ni Garcia ang siyang nagpa-, nagbigay ng larawan sa indibiduwal. Hindi na yung ikaw ay kakatawan o sisimbolo sa isang henerasyon kundi titingnan ang tao at ang indibiduwal na parang isang indibiduwal, labas sa

mga ibang tao, labas sa pananaw na makaluma ng may akda. [explanation by paraphrase or synonyms]

'Also look at literature in the context of changing forms in the nature of the characters. Perhaps this is one thing that needs to be understood by students in literature. In the beginning, in the traditional stories, emphasis was always on characters as representing segments of society. You, you represent this; on the other hand, you represent something else. So there was nothing individual in the identity of the characters. In that story you can see clearly the depiction of an individual because the approach is psychological *sikolohiyang pananaw* [psychological perspective] which Nick Joaquin used and which was translated by Garcia in giving the portrait of the characters. No longer is it that you represent or symbolize a generation but you look at the character or individual as an individual, outside of other people, outside of an antiquated perspective of the author'. [explanation by paraphrase or synonyms]

B. RESTATEMENT

1. of her own previous question

T: ...ang isang panitikan ba'y kinakailangang umayon sa nagaganap sa lipunan at sa mga kagustuhan ng mga mamamayan, o ang mamamayan ba ang siyang naghahatol kung ano ang dapat na gamitin ng panitikan... O, ulit, ulit, nasabi ko sa inyong maraming ulit na ang panitikan ay siyang humuhubog sa lipunan, hinuhubog din ng tao, ng lipunan ang panitikan. Eto na tayo sa isang panahon, papasok na diyan na kung saang makikita natin na kung ano ang ginagawa ng tao ay siya nang ginagamit ng mga manunulat. Ang tanong ko'y ito, kinakailangan bang ang panitikan ay hubugin ng ginagawa ng tao o ang talagang kinakailanga'y ang panitikan ang humubog sa gagawin ng tao.

'...does a literature have to go along with what happens in society and the desires of the citizens, or is it the citizens who will decide what should be used by literature. Ok, again, again, I have told you many times that it is literature that shapes society, but literature is also shaped by people, by society. Here we are in one period, obviously it can be seen that what people do is what the writer uses. My question is this, is it necessary for literature to be shaped by what people do or is it necessarily the case that literature shapes what people do'.

2. of evidence to ask for further evidence

T: Yan ang panlabas na kahulugan ng ating maikling tula. Ano naman ang panloob na kahulugan niyan? 'That is the outer meaning of the short poem. But what is the inner meaning?'

S: Ma'am, ang panloob na kahulugan niyan ay tungkol sa gobyerno. Kung paano sinisipsip ng gobyerno yung, kung bagaman sa ayungin yung kayamanan ng mga tao, yung ayungin diyan ang, sinisimbolo niya yung tao, yung kaliitan ng tao. Tapos yung tao diyan na kumakain ng ayungin, ayan ang mga officials ng government natin. Sinisimulan nila sa ulo hanggang, tapos sisimutin nila. Yung pusa yung mga cronies na lang iyan. Ibibigay nila. Yan ang panloob na kahulugan.

'Ma'am, the inner meaning of that is about the government. How the government sucks the, the wealth of the people, the *ayungin* there symbolizes the people, the smallness of the people. And then the person there who eats the *ayungin*, that refers to our government officials. They start with the head, until they finish everything. The cat refers to the cronies. The officials will give the cronies. That is the inner meaning'.

T: Ngunit bakit ang sabi simulan mo sa ulo pagkatapos sipsipin mo ang mata? Ano ang ibig sabihin niyan, ha?

'But why does it say start with the head and then suck the eyes? What does that mean, huh?'

C. REPETITION OF STUDENT'S RESPONSE AND REQUEST FOR FURTHER COMPLETION

T: Saan natin makikita ang pagbabagong anyo at ang tula bilang katalista ng pagbabago? O, gusto mo bang sagutin yan, Margarita? O si Lawrence kaya, bahala na kung sino sa inyong gustong sumagot diyan.

'Where can we see the change in form and the poem being a catalyst of change? Well, do you want to answer that, Margarita? Or maybe it's Lawrence, it's up to the two of you to decide who wants to answer that'.

S: Dahil nga ho, dahil sa anyo na lang, yung doon sa 'Ako ang Daigdig" makikita niyo po doon na kung ikukumpara natin sa nakalipas na panahon, ito'y isang bagong anyo dahil ito'y sinulat sa isang free verse, na ganoon. Ipinapakita ho na ang pagkaka-, ang emphasis ho nang sa panahon na yun ay nasa indibiduwal din sapagkat ah hindi tulad ng mga nakaraang tula ay -- yun nga ho, hindi naka- hindi ho naka-, nakasaklaw sa mga indibiduwal. Kaya doon ho sa free verse na yon mas malaya ho ang pagkaka-, pagkakasulat at ano -- basta hanggang doon na lang ang alam ko basta (laughter).

'It's because, because from the form alone, in "I Am the World" you can see that if we compare that to the previous period, this is a new form because this is written in free verse. What is shown here, the emphasis of that period is on the individual because ah not like in the other poems, that's it, they did not include the individual. So in that free verse it was freer to, it was more freely written and what -- that's all I know that's it (laughter)'.

T: O ikaw naman Maryanne, ano ang maidudugtong mo diyan? O Lawrence kaya.

'Well, what about you Maryanne, what can you add to that. Or maybe Lawrence'.

S: Parehas din. 'The same also'.

T: Ah, parehas din. 'So, the same also'.

Ss: (laughter)

T: O, ano ang sinabi? Ano ba yong parehong iyon, parehong sinabi? 'So, what was said? What is that same also, the same thing?'

Ss: (laughter)

D. PROVISION OF A FRAME TO BE FILLED IN BY ONE OR FEW WORDS

T: Sino ba si Tata Selo talaga, ha? Sino iyan? Natatandaan ninyo si Tata Selo? Saan ba una nating narinig ang pangalang Tata Selo?

'Who is this Tata Selo. Who is he? Do you remember Tata Selo? When did we first hear the name Tata Selo?'

Ss: Sa *Fili*. 'In the *Fili*'.

T: Sa *Fili*. Sino iyan, Tata Selo na yan. Ha?
'In the *Fili*. Who is that, that Tata Selo. Hm?'

Ss: ( )

T: Ang ama ni Kabesang Tales? E sino naman si...
'The father of Kabesang Tales? And who in turn is...'

S: ni Huli 'of Huli'

T: Lolo ni Huli at saka ni... 'the grandfather of huli and of...'

Ss: ni (Tano) 'of (Tano)'

E. CORRECTION OF STUDENT STATEMENT FOLLOWED UP BY A QUESTION TO ELICIT FURTHER DETAILS

S: ( ) ang sinasabi niya po ay kung anuman ang, ang, usually po pag kumakain tayo di ba sinasabi natin kung ano ang nandyan sa harap mo huwag ka nang magreklamo't kainin mo iyan dahil pagkain din iyan. Maraming ( ) kayo at maraming taong naghihirap at wala na ngang makain. So iyan ayungin na iyan ay pagkain din ho iyan makakapagpalaman din iyan sa tiyan. Kayat kahit ganyan yan ay huwag mong, huwag ka nang umangal at magreklamo pagkat ano nakakapuno din iyan sa iyo. Kaya ho pinapakita po diyan na simot na simot yung pagkain dahil huwag kang magsasayan dahil biyaya din iyan kahit papaano.

'( ) what it says is that the, the, usually when we eat, don't we say that whatever you have in front of you, you shouldn't complain about and you should just eat it because that is also food. Many ( ) and there are many poor people who have nothing to eat. So *ayungin* is also food that can fill up the stomach. So even if it is only like that, don't, don't complain because that can also fill you up. So that's why it's shown there that the food is all eaten up because you're not supposed to waste anything because that is also a blessing of some kind'.

T: Yan ang panlabas na kahulugan ng ating maikling tula. Ano naman ang panloob na kahulugan niyan?

'That is the outer meaning of the short poem. But what is the inner meaning?'

S: Ma'am, ang panloob na kahulugan niyan ay tungkol sa gobyerno...

'Ma'am, the inner meaning of that is about the government...'

F. SUMMARIZATION

T: Tingnan ninyo iyan. Paksiw na ayungin. Sa buhay ng isang Pilipino, marami bang Pilipino ang ayungin ay pangkaraniwang ulam? Pinakamasarap na nga daw na luto diyan ay ang ipaksiw ang isdang iyan. Nandito na ang palagi kong sinasabi sa inyong kainaman ng sining. Kung ang makata'y gumagamit ng napakasimpleng mga pamamahayag diyan lalo ninyo siya dapat bigyan ng kredito dahil mahirap sabihin sa pamamagitan ng tula ang mga bagay na simple ngunit napakamalalim naman ng laman.

'Look at that. Vinegared fish. In the life of a Filipino, do many Filipinos eat *ayungin* often? It is said that the best way to cook it is by vinegar. Here is what I usually tell you about the beauty of art. If a poet uses very simple means of expression, the more you should give him credit because it is difficult to say in a poem very simple things that contain deep thoughts'.

G. CONTEXTUALIZATION

1. by relating what is read to social realities at present

T: Ano ba ang gumimbal sa kabuhayan at sa kasaysayan ng Pilipinas -- may ilang taon na ang nakakaraan? ...At nakita nating hanggang sa ngayon ang trahedyang iyan ay patuloy na nagiging malaking isyu, mainit na isyu, sa ating bayan. Ano ang tinutukoy ko?

'What disturbed the life and history of the Philippines -- how many years ago? ...And we have seen that up to now that tragedy is a big issue, a hot issue, in our country. What am I referring to?'

Ss: Aquino, Aquino assassination.

2. by relating what is read to students' past knowledge (schema)

T: Bago pa man lang nausal yang salitang ya'y isang punlo na ang pumatay kay Aquino. Ano yong salitang yon? Ano ba ang tema ng lahat ng mga pagpupunyagi ni Aquino?

'Even before that word was uttered a bullet killed Aquino. What is that word? What was the theme of all the efforts of Aquino?'

Ss: Kalayaan. 'Freedom'.

T: Kalayaan kaya? 'Is it freedom?'

S: Reconciliation.

T: Reconciliation. Pagkakaisa. 'Reconciliation. Oneness'.

H. ASKING A LEADING QUESTION

T: O, tanong din, kinakailangan sagutin nang mainam. Maraming mga manunulat, mga scholars daw, na nagsasabing hanggang sa ngayon napakamababa pa ang uri ng ating panitikan nasusulat sa ating wika at mga dayalekto. Kung talagang (lilimiin) daw, maari lang makita ang kasiningan at kahusayan ng ating panitikan sa mga naisulat sa Ingles. Sa palagay kaya ninyo, at huwag sasagutin komo ito ay Pilipino, sa palagay kaya ninyo ay tama naman yang asamsyon na yan? Na di kailanman bumubagpos sa matanda, walang kuwenta, hindi maaasahan, walang kabuhay-buhay, lumang tema. lumang paksa, ang talagang ating panitikang nasusulat sa Pilipino.

'So, another question which needs to be answered well. There are a lot of writers, supposed scholars, who say that up to now the literature written in our language and dialects is of very low level. If really analyzed, the literature of artistry and craftsmanship can be seen only in the literature written in English. In your opinion, and do not answer just because this is a class in Pilipino, is that assumption correct? That this literature has not gone beyond the old, is of no value,

cannot be relied upon, is lifeless, with old themes, old topics, the literature written in Pilipino'.

I. ASKING A RHETORICAL QUESTION

T: Sa palagay kaya ninyo ano ang talagang uri ng rebolusyon na sinasabi ni Bulosan. Iyan ba ang rebolusyon na kayo ay hahawak ng tabak, kukuha kayo ng armalite, kayo'y mamumundok o ano? Ano sa palagay mo, anong rebolusyon iyon?

'In your opinion what is the true kind of revolution being mentioned by Bulosan. Is that the revolution where you will get a sword, you will get an armalite, you'll take to the mountains or what? What do you think, what revolution is that?'

J. ANSWERING HER OWN RHETORICAL QUESTION

T: Ah, kaya sa inyong pagkukuro, kaya masasabi parang hindi maipapantay [ang panitikang Pilipino] sa Ingles ay dahil sa kakulangan ng bokabularyo, ganoon ba? Na totoo naman, tanggapin natin na totoo, siyempre pag totoo tatanggapin ninyo. Pero ang panitikan ba ay bokabularyo lang? Hindi rin naman, eh, bakit nga ba?

'So, in your opinion, the reason why it can be said that literature in Pilipino cannot be compared with that in English is because of the lack of vocabulary, is that it? Which in a sense is true, let us accept it as true, of course if it is true you have to accept it. But is literature only a matter of vocabulary? But that isn't the case, so what is it?'

K. OUTLINING

1. the lesson (foreshadowing, building up expectation)

T: Ngayon, dahil sa tapos na tayo ng ating ikaapat na panahon, at natitira na lang yung pangkasalukuyan, bibigyan ko kayo ng buod ng ating panahon ng mga Amerikano at bibigyan ko na rin kayo ng panimula para sa panghuling panahon. At dito nailagay ko na sa ating blackboard kung ano ang dapat na talakayin.

'Now, since we're through with the fourth period, and all that's left is the present, I will give you a review of our time with the Americans, and I will also give you the beginnings of the last period. And here I've written on the board what we will take up'.

2. the possible response

T: Ano ang nilalaman ng tula? Alam naman ninyo na ang tula ay may mababaw o panlabas na kahulugan. Mayroon din itong malalim na kahulugang sinasabi nating maari lang nating makuha sa pagitan ng mga linya, 'in between the lines'. Ano ngayon ang mas malalim at masining na nilalaman ng maikling tulang ito na 'Kung ang Tula ay Salita Lamang'?

'What does the poem say? As you know a poem has an outer meaning. But it also has a deeper meaning which we say can be obtained between the lines. What then is the deeper and more artistic content of this short poem "If a Poem Is Only Words"?'

S: Alam po natin na isa sa mga responsibilidad ng mga manunulat ay ang magsiwalat ng katotohanan...

'All of us know that one of the responsibilities of a writer is to make the truth known...'

L. GOING FROM A HIGH-LEVEL QUESTION (ANALYSIS) TO A LOW-LEVEL QUESTION (LITERAL COMPREHENSION)

T: Ang sabi nga ni Quezon noon, nanaisin ko pang magkaroon ng isang pamahalaang ang pamamahala'y tulad sa impyerno na hawak ng mga Pilipino kaysa sa isang langit na hinahawakan ng mga Amerikano. Yan ay isang ideyalismo, isang pananaw na kung nataguyod ay siyang magpapalaya talaga sa mga Pilipino. Ngunit ano ang nangyari? Taliwas sa inaasahan e ang nangyari ang atin yatang pamahalaan, ang ating bayan, ay pinaghaharian ng mga Pilipinong ang uri ng paghahari parang nasa sa isang impyerno. Paano yan makikita sa maikling kwentong 'Tata Selo' [asking for analysis]? O, matanong ko muna kayo. Sino ba si Tata Selo talaga, ha? Sino iyan? Dennis, ha? Natatandaan ninyo si Tata Selo? Saan ba una nating narinig ang pangalang Tata Selo [asking for recall].

'As Quezon said then, I would prefer a government which governs like hell run by Filipinos than a government like heaven run by Americans. That is ideallism, a perspective that, if implemented, could have set Filipinos free. But what happened? Contrary to what was expected, our government, our country, is ruled by Filipinos who run it like hell. How can that be seen in the short story "Tata Selo" [asking for analysis]? Well, let me ask you first. Who is this Tata Selo. Who is he? Dennis? Do you remember Tata Selo? When did we first hear the name Tata Selo [asking for recall]?'

M. FILLING IN THE PLOT OF THE STORY POINT BY POINT

This is done for the short story "Tata Selo"; mostly literal comprehension questions are used.

N. CITING THE TOPIC SENTENCE OF THE ESSAY AND ASKING STUDENTS TO EXPLAIN THE ESSAY

T: Buksan ninyo ang inyong libro sa pahinang ito at bibigyan ko kayo ng ilang mga pangungusap diyan na nais kong ipaliwanag ninyo sa konteksto ng buong sanaysay. Ano'ng sinasabi dito? Sa baba ng pahina. 'Ang pinakamabisang paraan ng paglupig sa isang bansa ay pagbihag sa kanyang kaisipan'. Sa baba. 'Ang pagbihag sa kaisipan. Ang pinakamabisang paraan ng paglupig sa isang bansa ay pagbihag sa kanyang kaisipan'. Ano ang sinasabi ng sanaysay? 'Open your books to the page and I will give you a few sentences from there which I wish you to explain in the context of the whole essay. What does it say here? At the bottom of the page. "The best way to subjugate a nation is to conquer its mind." Bottom of the page. "Subjugating the mind. The best way to subjugate a nation is to conquer its mind." What does the essay say?'

O. TRANSLATING AN UNFAMILIAR TERM IN FILIPINO TO THE MORE COMMONLY-KNOWN ENGLISH TERM

T: Kung titingnan natin ang panitikan sa konteksto ng pagbabago, hindi na sinasaklaw kahit na ang anyo ng ating panitikan ng mga makalumang balangkas -- old structures.

'If we look at literature in the context of change, no longer included in our literature are the "makalumang balangkas" -- old structures'.

P. REMINDING STUDENTS OF TRANSLATION

T: Ano ba yung rhyme scheme na iyan sa Pilipino?
'How do you say "rhyme scheme" in Pilipino?
S: Yung tugma -- '"tugma"'
T: Uhm, tugma o. 'Yes, "tugma".'

3.6. Typology of learning simplification strategies in the Filipino data

The presentation below lists the simplification strategies used by the students in the Filipino-medium class.

A. ASKING FOR CLARIFICATION

T: Kung sasabihin nating ang panitikan ay katalista ng pagbabago... Paano makikita natin yang katalista ng pagbabagong niyan sa tauhan ng 'Tatlong Salinlahi'?

'If we say that literature is a catalyst for change... How can we see that idea of catalyst for change in "Three Generations"?'

Ss: Ano yung katalista ng pagbabago? Ano yung katalista ng -- 'What does "catalyst for change" mean? What does catalyst...'

B. REQUESTING FOR REPETITION

T: Sa palagay kaya ninyo, kung ang mga pinag-aaralan sa panahong ito'y hindi yaong sinalin mula sa Ingles hanggang sa Pilipino, maipalilitaw pa rin ang mga pagbabagong naganap sa ating panahon at maipakikita pa rin ang talagang kahusayan ng ating manunulat sa mga dayalektong ipaliwanag, ilarawan, ipakita kung ano talaga ang buhay at kung anong pagbabagong nangyayari sa buhay natin. Ang sagot ay kinakailangang totoo at tapat, *not to please me*, ha. Uhm, ano sa palagay mo?

'In your opinion, if what we were studying for this period were not translations from English to Pilipino, could the changes taking place in our time still be shown, could the writers still show their artistry in the dialects, to explain, show, describe what life really is and the changes occurring in our lives? The answer should be true and sincere, not to please me, ok. Uhm, what do you think?'

S: Ma'am, pakiulit ho lang, ma'am. 'Ma'am, could you please repeat, ma'am?'

C. RECOGNIZING TEACHER'S RHETORICAL QUESTION

T: Sa palagay kaya ninyo ano ang talagang uri ng rebolusyon na sinasabi ni Bulosan. Iyan ba ang rebolusyon na kayo ay hahawak ng tabak, kukuha kayo ng armalite, kayo'y mamumundok o ano? Ano sa palagay mo, anong rebolusyon iyon? [teacher's rhetorical question]

'In your opinion what is the true kind of revolution being mentioned by Bulosan. Is that the revolution where you will get a sword, you will get an armalite, you'll take to the mountains or what? What do you think, what revolution is that?' [teacher's rhetorical question]

S: Ang rebolusyon na ( ) dito ng may-akda ay tingin ko ay hindi sa pamamagitan ng pagbuhat ng kamay, ngunit sa pamamagitan ng pagsabi o pag-alis ng kaba kapag gusto mong sabihin ang katotohanan. Ito'y kasi ang mga Pilipino ay parang na-categorize na mga Pilipino na tahimik, na hindi nagsasabi o nagsasabi ng kanilang gustong talagang sabihin...

'The revolution ( ) here by the writer is not by means of physical force, but by means of removing the fear within you when you want to speak the truth. This is because it seems Filipinos have been categorized as quiet, they don't say what they really want to say...'

D. LEAVING THE RESPONSE HANGING FOR TEACHER TO CONTINUE

S: ...huwag ihaharap ang katotohanan tapos pag pag uhm pag nagtagumpay na sila sa pagbubulag sa mga tao puede na nilang simulan yung ano, kunin na yung mga, yung mga ano, anuhin na nila, i-corrupt--

'...not to show the truth and in the end when they have succeeded in blinding the people they can then start getting the, the, doing the, corrupting--'

T: ang mga kayamanan. Madali na talagang masamsam ang kayamanan.

'The riches. They can truly get the wealth easily'.

E. USING AN ENGLISH WORD (INSTEAD OF SEARCHING FOR A FILIPINO WORD) BECAUSE TEACHER WILL LIKELY SUPPLY THE FILIPINO EQUIVALENT

(a) S: Ma'am, halimbawa, mayroong isang taong hindi nakakaintindi kung ano ang dahilan ng discontent o, discontent ng isang bayan sa--

'Ma'am, for example, there is a person who does not understand the reason for the discontent, the discontent [given in English] in the country--'

T: kawalan ng kasiyahan ["discontent" in Filipino]

S: kawalan ng kasiyahan ng mga tao sa isang bayan. 'discontent of people in a country.'

F. BORROWING FROM ENGLISH

(a) S: Ang nagtagumpay sa huli ay ahm yung apo, si, si, ang, yung apo, bale si Chitong na ahm, nag ahm -- siya'y may kaisipang malaya at siya rin ang nag-*impose* nung ano, yung, yung sinasabi kong *sexual liberation.* Iyon ang parang nag-*succeed* sa huli kaya siguro yun ang pinaka, pinaka-gustong bigyan ng *emphasis* noong ano, noong nagsulat, ni Nick Joaquin.

'The one who triumphed in the end is the grandson, the grandson, Chito -- he thinks freely and he also imposed what is called sexual liberation. He was the one who succeeded in the end and so that seems to be what the writer, Nick Joaquin, wanted to put emphasis on.'

G. REFORMULATING THE SENTENCE BECAUSE A WORD IN THE ORIGINAL SENTENCE IS NOT EASILY TRANSLATABLE

S: Ah, katulad ng 'Ako ay Daigdig,' ah, tsaka, ah, indibidualistic, indibidualismo ang -- tema niyon, kayat ang pagkasulat niya'y ...

'Ah, like 'I Am the World,' and also, ah, individualistic, individualism is the theme of that, and so the way he wrote it...'

H. SUMMARIZING THROUGH ONE ENGLISH WORD

S: ...ang istorya naman eh tungkol eh nasa nasa Pilipinas o kaya'y pangka-anuhan, yung parang lahat ng tao'y nakakaranas noong ganoon, universal nga...

'...the story itself is about, is in the Philippines or something like what, it's like everyone has experienced that, really universal...'

3.7. Observations on the Filipino data

The Filipino-medium teacher differed from the English-medium teacher in her mode of questioning. Whereas the teacher using English adopted the Socratic method, asking question after question to elicit inferential reasoning, the teacher using Filipino asked holistic questions that required elaborated responses from the students. It seemed as if the teacher and the students in the Philippine Literature class taught in Filipino had already internalized a basic schema for studying literature: a literary text had an outer meaning and an inner meaning and the task of the student of literature was to uncover both, a task more difficult with regard to the inner meaning.

The types of pedagogical simplification used by the Filipino-medium teacher consist of some of the types used by the English-medium teacher, for instance, explanations by examples, paraphrase; restatements of her own statements and of students' statements; repetition of students' responses plus a request for additional information; provision of frames for short answers; contextualization of statements by relating them to present happenings and to the background knowledge of students; summary statements at the close of a discussion episode; asking leading questions. But differently from the English-medium teacher, she provided an overview of the lesson by outlining what she proposed to discuss that day; she also outlined a possible design for responding to her questions (the schema of outer meaning and inner meaning). In contrast, the English-medium teacher began her two sessions by asking what the students had found difficult in the stories they had read, or what they had enjoyed in the stories.

The Filipino-medium teacher also had a penchant for asking rhetorical questions, occasionally even answering them herself. When she discussed details in the plot of a story, it was not for purposes of inferential reasoning -- as in the case of the English-medium teacher -- but simply to find out if the students had picked out certain important details. Since she was using Filipino as an intellectualized language, she occasionally placed the Filipino term alongside the English so that students could associate the two terms.

The Filipino teacher had a way of discussing the thesis of the day at great length, but her students did a lot of talking too. (This can be noted even just from the extracts given above.) The ratio of teacher talk to student talk is approximately 6.5:3.5, better than the other teacher's ratio. And, as noted in the Introduction to this section, the average turn of speaking of the students in the Filipino class is much longer than the average turn of speaking of the students in the English class (4.83 lines vs. 1.39 lines).

The types of simplification used by the students in the Filipino class were dependent to a large extent on the teacher's mode of questioning. They knew how to catch the teacher's rhetorical questions. Likewise, the types of simplification were dependent on the easy relationship between teacher and students: the students could ask the teacher to repeat her question especially if the teacher's statement was quite dense; they could ask the teacher for clarification. Also, their simplification strategies were dependent on their proficiency in both English and Filipino; they could switch to English if the going got rough in Filipino; most of the time, their teacher would come to their rescue and provide the Filipino equivalent that was at the tip of their tongue.

Finally, it should be said that in both classes, very obviously, the students were clued into the pedagogical structures of the teacher. In the English-taught class, the students knew that the teacher would focus on details, with the students providing the details, and the teacher would unlock whatever difficulties the students had, ultimately for everyone in class to discover why authors had written as they had. In the Filipino-medium class, the students knew that the teacher would sketch broad outlines of a thesis for the day, for example, that literature has a deeper meaning, or that literature shapes society just as society shapes literature, and that the selections chosen for the day's discussion were chosen specifically to prove the thesis; they therefore adjusted their mode of responding accordingly. The teachers possessed strategic competence in the way they asked questions; the students showed their own strategic competence in the way they responded.

4. Conclusion

If one thing is to be learned from this study, it is that the subject of simplification is a much wider and complex topic of educational concern than the writers thought at first. The pilot study demonstrates the need for more types of S to be learned and used by teachers: for example, the teachers in the study would have been well-advised to use audio-visual aids and other reference materials in their efforts to simplify better and be even better communicators.

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MEASURING READINESS FOR SIMPLIFIED MATERIAL: A TEST OF THE FIRST 1,000 WORDS OF ENGLISH

Paul Nation

The first 1,000 words of English are the essential basis for simplified teaching material. This article describes the need for a test of these words and the difficulties in making one. It contains two equivalent forms of a test along with instructions on how to use it and how to apply the information gained from it.

The Importance of High Frequency Words

Frequency studies of English have shown that the return for learning the high frequency words is very great. Generally these high frequency words are considered to be the most frequent 2,000 words (West, 1953) although some research indicates that the return for learning vocabulary drops off rather quickly after the first 1,500 words (Engels, 1968; Hwang, 1989). The return for learning is the coverage of text, spoken or written, that knowledge of the words provides. For example, Schonell et al (1956) found that the most frequent 1,000 words in spoken English provided coverage of 94% of the running words in informal conversation. Similarly, figures from the frequency count by Carroll et al (1971) indicate that the first 1,000 words of English cover 74% of written text. Note that coverage refers to running words where each recurrence of a word is counted as additional coverage. Thus, knowing the word the gives much less than 10% coverage of written text because this word occurs so frequently. Clearly the return for learning the first 1,000 words of English is very high. By comparison, the second most frequent 1,000 words of English provides coverage of only 7% of written text.

It should not be thought that the first 1,000 words is made up mainly of words like the, and, of, they, and because. These function words make up fewer than 150 of the 1,000 words.

Lists Containing the First 1,000 Words

There are several lists available of the most frequent words of English. These include frequency counts (Carroll et al, 1971; Francis & Kucera, 1982; Thorndike & Lorge, 1944), and combinations of various lists (Hindmarsh, 1980; Barnard & Brown, in Nation 1984). The list chosen for this test is West's General Service List of English Words (1953). The General Service List has been used as a basis for many series of graded readers, and this provides an advantage in using it for the test. This list is rather old, based on work done in the 1930s and 1940s. However it still remains the most useful one available as the relative frequency of various meanings of each word is given. When making the tests included here the words chosen were checked against the Carroll et al count to make sure that they occurred in the first 2,000 words of that count.

Difficulties in Testing the First 1,000 Words

There are several difficulties involved with making a test of the first 1,000 words. The first is such a test may be used with classes of learners who speak different first languages and thus translation is not a practical approach. Second, there is the likelihood that some learners will have poor reading skills and thus the test needs to be able to be given orally if necessary. These two factors resulted in the choice of a true/false format. Multiple-choice was not possible because it is impractical in an oral form. One disadvantage of true/false is the possible strong effect of guessing, although research by Ebel (1979) indicates that this is not as likely as it seems. In an attempt to overcome possible effects of guessing, three types of responses were suggested in the instructions (True, Not true, Do not understand), and each word was tested twice, once in each version of the test. Where an item is tested twice, there are four possible sets of answers, namely both correct, both wrong, the first item correct and the second wrong, the first item wrong and the second correct. There is thus only a one in four chance of correctly guessing both items testing the same word. This is the same chance as with four-item multiple choice tests. So if the teacher feels that learners are making wild guesses, both forms of the test should be given and a mark given only when both items testing a word are correct.

A third difficulty is that the contexts for the tested words must not cause too many problems for the learners. When making the test, an attempt was made to ensure that the context words were of higher frequency than the tested word. This was not always possible for some of the words and thus a few words have some context words of the same frequency. There are no items with contexts of lower

frequency. Occasionally a picture was used to avoid a lower frequency word, for example:

This can keep people away from your house.

Dog is a lower frequency word than the test word keep and so a picture was used instead of saying:

A dog can keep people away from your house.

This frequency restriction on the context was the most difficult constraint to overcome when making the test.

A fourth difficulty is that most of the high frequency words have several meanings. In the test only the most frequent meaning was tested. This was found by referring to West (1953) and the COBUILD dictionary (Sinclair, 1987).

A fifth difficulty is that using true/false items where the judgement is based on general knowledge allows other factors besides vocabulary knowledge to play a part. Some items where this may occur include:

Some children call their mother Mama.

You can go by road from London to New York.

Each society has the same rules.

Some problems of this type were removed as a result of trialling the test. There is value, however, in having the words in context in that the context can help in accessing the meaning of the word as well as limiting the meaning that is being tested. The disadvantage of drawing on general knowledge is not as great as the advantage of testing in use rather than by definitions.

A sixth difficulty is the grammatical complexity of the context of the tested words. For example, several of the highest frequency items are tested in the two-clause pattern "When _____, _____". This was unavoidable. Trialling of the test helped find some items where this caused too much difficulty and these were changed.

Using the Test

Usually one form of the test (40 items) should be enough to get a useful result. When the test is given orally, the learners will need to be able to see the accompanying pictures. It is probably best if the test is given orally to one learner at a time. The teacher can repeat the items to the learners as many times as is needed. If the teacher knows the learner's first language then also requiring a translation would be a useful check. It is possible to find which word is tested by comparing the two items in the two forms of the test as both forms contain the tested words in exactly the same order. The ordering is based on frequency of occurrence according to West (1953) with the most frequent word (time) occurring first.

Only content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs) are tested. To find what proportion of the first 1,000 words is known, multiply the total score on each version of the test (40 items) by 2.5. Multiplying by 2.5 assumes that the learners already know the same proportion of function words.

Applying the Results

The results of the test can be used to help diagnose areas of weakness, set learning goals and plan a vocabulary programme, measure vocabulary growth, and assign graded reading. Let us look at each of these in turn.

Diagnosis: The test can be used to help answer this question. Is the learner's poor performance in reading or listening a result of inadequate vocabulary knowledge? Some learners, particularly those for whom English is a foreign language, have difficulty understanding spoken English. This could be because they do not know enough vocabulary or simply because they have learned English through reading and have not had enough contact with spoken English. Giving the vocabulary test in its written form should help the teacher see where the problem lies. With such learners it would be interesting to give one form of the test orally and one form through reading to see what the difference was.

Similarly, learners who have had a lot of contact with spoken English may be poor at reading and doing the test orally should reveal their vocabulary knowledge.

Set learning goals: The first 1,000 words of English are essential for all learners who wish to use the language. It is thus very important that teachers know what vocabulary knowledge their learners have and are aware of how they can systematically help them to increase this knowledge. If learners do not know all of the first 1,000 words of English it is well worth ensuring that they have the opportunity to learn those that they do not know. Nation (1990) looks at this in detail over the four skills of listening, speaking, reading and writing. Ways of doing this include substantial graded reading, direct vocabulary teaching, doing vocabulary learning exercises, and systematically providing a vocabulary focus in language learning activities. If learners' vocabulary is larger than 1,000 words, the Vocabulary Levels Test (Nation, 1990) can be used.

Measure vocabulary growth: The two equivalent forms of the 1,000 word test allow the teacher to check how much learners' vocabulary has increased over several months. This use should be treated with caution as each test has only forty items and thus the confidence interval would be large if we were measuring an individual's increase in vocabulary size. When both forms of the test were administered to the same group of learners, it was found that the most difficult items in test A tested words that were also in the most difficult items in test B. These words were ancient, stream, remain, wide, and at least. It was also found that two-thirds of the learners gained scores on tests A and B that were within two marks or less of each other. Only one of the fifteen learners tested had scores which were more than four marks different.

Assign graded reading: Various series of graded readers have several stages of readers within the first 1,000 words of English. Longman Structural Readers, for example, have books written at the 300-word stage, the 500-word stage, the 750-word stage, and the 1,100-word stage. The way that the Longman series divides the words into stages does not correspond exactly to frequency (and thus to the ordering of items in the vocabulary test) but there is rough agreement. For example, the first 10 items in the vocabulary test are made up of one test word from Longman Stage 1, six from Stage 2, and three from Stage 3. Because the agreement is rough, it is better to use learners' total scores on the test to decide what stage of graded reader they should be reading. If their vocabulary score on a 40-item test is less than 10 they should be reading at Stage 1, from 11 to 20 Stage 2, from 21 to 30 Stage 3, and above 30 Stage 4. Graded reading is an excellent way of increasing vocabulary. By reading three or more readers at one stage learners are likely to meet all of the vocabulary at that stage. Having mastered the vocabulary of that stage, they can go to the next stage without needing extra preparation for the new vocabulary (Wodinsky & Nation, 1988).

The Content of Test Items

The items in a test which is not based on a particular piece of content knowledge inevitably reveal the personality of the test maker. Looking back over the items I see that some reflect my philosophical attitudes, "We can be sure that one day we will die" (Some learners seemed convinced that this was not true.). This same sense of inevitability is revealed in "Day follows night and night follows day" and "Your child will be a girl or a boy". I also see my jaundiced attitudes to children after having raised a family, "It is easy for children to remain still" (clearly not true), "Most children go to school at night" (perhaps that should be true), "A child has a lot of power" (true or not true? Unfortunately omitted). In the earlier versions of the test there was also a strong moral tone, "It is good to keep a promise", "It is not good to try hard", "You must look to find the way". However, although the learners did not seem to have trouble with these items, colleagues convinced me that these were culture bound and not in keeping with the tone of the last part of the twentieth century. I reluctantly changed some of them. It is after all easier to change test items than it is to change colleagues. After all, "A society is made of people living together".

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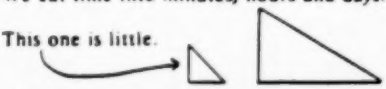
VOCABULARY TEST: 1,000 WORD LEVEL
TEST A

Write T if a sentence is true. Write N if it is not true. Write X if you do not understand the sentence. The first one has been answered for you.

We cut time into minutes, hours and days. _T_

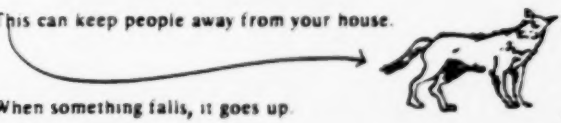
This one is little.  ___

You can find these everywhere. ___

Some children call their mother Mama. ___

Show me the way to do it means "show me how to do it". ___

This country is a part of the world. ___

This can keep people away from your house.  ___

When something falls, it goes up. ___

Most children go to school at night. ___

It is easy for children to remain still. ___

One person can carry this. ___

A scene is a part of a play. ___

People often think of their home, when they are away from it. ___

There is a mountain in every city. ___

Each month has the same number of days. ___

A chief is the youngest person in a group. ___

Black is a colour. ___

You can use a pen to make marks on paper. ___

A family always has at least two people. ___

You can go by road from London to New York. ___

Silver costs a lot of money. ___

This is a hill. ___

This young person is a girl. ___

We can be sure that one day we will die. ___

A society is made of people living together. ___

An example can help you understand. ___

Some books have pictures in them. ___

When some people attack other people, they try to hurt them. ___

When something is ancient, it is very big. ___

Big ships can sail up a stream. ___

It is good to keep a promise. ___

People often dream when they are sleeping. ___

This is a date - 10 o'clock. ___

When something is impossible, it is easy to do it. ___

Milk is blue. ___

A square has five sides. ___

Boats are made to travel on land. ___

Cars cannot pass each other on a wide road. ___

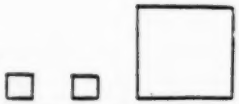
When you look at something closely, you can see the details. ___

This part is a handle. ___

VOCABULARY TEST: 1,000 WORD LEVEL
TEST B

Write T if a sentence is true. Write N if it is not true. Write X if you do not understand the sentence. The first one has been answered for you.

We can stop time. N

Two of these are little.  ___

You must look, when you want to find the way. ___

When someone asks "What are you called?", you should say your name. ___

There are many ways to get money. ___

All the world is under water. ___

When you keep asking, you ask once. ___

Sometimes people die when they fall off a building. ___

Day follows night and night follows day. ___

Remain here means "stay". ___

This is a person. ___

When there is a change of scene, we see a different place. ___

Often means "many times". ___

This is a mountain. ___

Each month has a different name. ___

People follow the orders of a chief. ___

Green is a colour. ___

Dirty hands cannot leave marks on glass. ___

You need at least five people to make a group. ___

Cars move on a road. ___

You can eat silver. ___

You can see more when you are on a hill. ___

Your child will be a girl or a boy. ___

When you are sure, you know you are right. ___

Each society has the same rules. ___

Three examples of food are, shops, homes, and markets. ___

This is a picture. ___

It is good to attack people. ___

Rome is an ancient city. ___

A stream is a small river. ___

When you promise something, you say you will really do it. ___

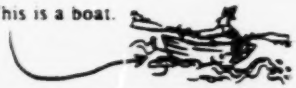
Dreams are about things that really happened. ___

When we give a date, we say the day, the month and the year. ___

It is impossible to live for a long time without water. ___

Very young children drink milk. ___

This is a square. ___

This is a boat.  ___

It is a short way from one side to the other side of a wide river. ___

A detail is a small piece of information. ___

A handle is part of our body. ___

SIMPLIFICATION: A Viewpoint in Outline

Simplification can be viewed as linguistic or as pedagogic although in some cases it may be both. This bipolarity (i.e., between 'linguistic simplification' (LS) and 'pedagogic simplification (PS)' may not be entirely justifiable on several grounds: it may also, in some measure, fail to reflect current understanding of the subject. However, since my purpose here is to provoke thinking as a basis for a dialogue on issues and concerns, neither of these failures need cause concern. On most points I have highlighted a particular viewpoint. At the same time however,I have raised one or more doubts in the belief that doing so should help foreground aspects of a different understanding.

Part A: Linguistic Simplification (LS)

1 LS has been part of several centuries-old effort at designing international auxiliary languages like Esperanto, Ido etc. None of these appears however to have made more than a marginal impact in the global context of language use. Why this is so may have lessons for language simplifiers and applied linguists no less than for designers of artificial languages.

Doubt: In what way can artificial languages be viewed as being simpler? Is it not true, for example, that Esperanto has more inflections than languages like English? Besides, if an artificial language is designed to serve all the functions that a natural language also serves, can it do so if it lacks some 'essential' features of the latter (eg redundancy)?

2 LS also comes into operation in the processes that enter the design and development of pidgin languages and, in time, of the creoles that evolve in their expanding use. This type of simplification, which comes about largely because such languages are generally restricted to 'communicative' functions (thus leaving out most of the 'integrative' and 'expressive' functions: Smith, 1972), appears to have potential for not only theoreticians of language but also for applied linguists and language practitioners. If Schumann is right in saying that pidginization produces "an interlanguage which is simplified and reduced" (Schumann, 1978), a

study in comparison with other forms of interlanguage should once again interest scholars in related fields of language acquisition.

Doubts: If Corder was right is pointing out that one cannot simplify what one hasn't got (Corder, 1981a), how can we argue that a pidgin is a product of simplification? A pidgin may be (It is!) simple in more ways than one but is it not essentially a result of attempts to communicate in which people draw on the resources that are already available to them, i.e., the language(s) to which they have become exposed?

If a pidgin is not a product of simplification (However see Davies, 1984 "A pidgin is simple because it represents the result over time of speakers' inadequate second language acquisition"), is it not even less true to say that a creole results from processes of simplification? Would it not be more true to argue that a creole is the outcome of a process of 'complexification'?

3 LS made its impact in the now-forgotten scholarly efforts that sought to make Basic English (See Ogden, 1930- & also Richards, (1940-) Everyman's English) the whole world's auxiliary language besides using it as Stage 1 of a systematic programme of second language teaching. BE gained prominence in the English speaking world and , for a time, was hailed as a success story by world leaders in politics (e.g., Winston Churchill, Franklin Roosevelt, Jawaharlal Nehru) and in language education. BE also aroused applied linguistic interest (e.g. Catford, 1950/1967) although, not long after, it suffered an abortive end.

More recently ideas like Nuclear English (Quirk, 1981) appear to seek a revival of this reform although with much greater emphasis on the morphology and syntax of English and much less concern for frequent words or 'island' vocabularies, to make English as an international language accessible to the growing millions of users across the world.

Both BE and NE require further study and the latter in particular appears as yet to suffer from inadequate detail and defence. A study in comparison may also suggest implications for work in the future.

Doubt: Did Ogden's work really result in a simpler language or was it a claim based on misunderstanding of the many teaching-learning problems that such a reduced language presents? (Benjamim Lee Whorf, for example, thought of BE as "an eviscerated British English with its concealed premises working harder than ever... fobbed off on an unsuspecting world as the substance of pure Reason itself." Whorf, 1956) Also, is NE a truly workable alternative? Is it really possible to

teach such a language? Besdides, for those who end up learning no more than NE, will there not be problems similar to, if not worse than, the ones that are now faced by non-standard users of English?

4 LS has of late received a lot of attention in the study of restricted languages such as motherese, foreigner-talk, teacher-talk etc. Each of these appears to make use of a number of devices (see Long, 1983 for some fifteen different devices that native speakers use to help non-native speakers to understand their speech) and each ought therefore to be of value in engaging the relevant aspects of the teaching and learning of second/foreign languages.

Doubt: What justification is there for lumping together the three 'restricted' languages named above? Each demonstrably serves a different purpose and each can be seen to be a product of a different understanding of one's communicative roles and responsibilities. Foreigner talk in particular can, in one view, be seen to represent comprehension rather than simplification strategies. It should therefore have little of interest for the language simplifier. Besides, none of these languages is comparable to BE in either purpose or in the processes of simplification.

5 LS can be seen at work in what an L1 learner does in learning his/her (its) first language. This has raised issues in language acquisition (LA) and in the study of the stages of development in a child's entrance into the world of 'learning' (Halliday's 'languaging': Halliday, 1975).

Of late research on LA has come to occupy an important place in L2 pedagogy.Studies that support a natural order of acquisition (eg Pienemann, 1989, 1991) and its imperviousness to formal teaching, have come centre stage in discussions of, for example, 'what teachers can(not) teach in second/foreign language classrooms'. A lot of attention is being paid to the place of 'the learner's syllabus' (Corder, 1981) and to how and how far it can be used as a basis for sequencing L2 syllabuses, instructional materials and classroom lessons. A lot of usable insights have also been emerging in efforts to explore interlanguage development under different teaching-learning environments (Selinker, 1972, 1992).

A related but somewhat less well-known point is that of learner strategies. Experience in foreign-language classrooms shows,for example, that a careful learner often makes use of only those aspects or features of morphology or syntax which he/she is sure of at the time of writing. If this be true, there may be reason to believe that such a learner makes use of 'simplification' via elimination.

Doubt: Does interlanguage show at work the main processes of simplification or is it best seen as an example of 'linguistic' complexification? It may be true that a learner's initial hypotheses are derived from universal grammar or from his/her first language, but are they in any way a simplification of the first language? Besides, the learner cannot simplify what he/she has not got. Also relevant here may be Schachter's (1983) finding that there is no evidence that simplified input is necessary for first language learning.

Part B: Simplification of Teaching/Learning (PS)

Simplification of teaching and learning (PS) has also taken several forms and it has once again been raising issues in theoretical research and in its application to language pedagogy:

6 In the 1920s and 1930s scores of researchers (e.g. psychologists like Thorndike, Lorge, Dewey and English language teachers including Palmer and West (For a historical review see Fries & Traver, 1940) worked to produce frequency-based and in some cases 'integrated' (Faucett , 1932) lists of words and word-meanings. A main purpose was to easify the reading of first and foreign languages and subsequently, to provide a 'scientific' basis for the design of teaching materials. Highly valued lists of essential words and word-meanings (eg West (ed), 1953) followed. In the teaching of French as an international language work on Le Française fondamental broke new ground by making use of more insightful approaches (including 'disponibilite' studies and recorded telephonic conversations (Gougenheim et al, 1956) to arrive at an essential teaching/learning vocabulary.

Having suffered a long period of neglect, this movement appears to have staged a comeback, culminating in the 1980s in large computerised studies of representative corpora of written and spoken language, some of which make use of word concordances (Sinclair, 1987) to arrive at the 'real' language. New dictionaries (eg COBUILD), grammars, language syllabuses (Willis, 1990) and language courses (Willis & Willis, 1989-) have been produced making use of the findings of such research.

Frequency studies have had their supporters among language teachers but they have all along been criticised on both linguistic and educational grounds (e.g. McCarthy, 1984). Of interest therefore should be this type of 'simplification' and its widely used products.

Doubt: If frequency studies are no more than "objective studies of materials selected subjectively" (Palmer, 1931), can they ever become representative of the language as a whole? On the other hand is it fair to think of recent concordance-based studies as mainly a revival of the earlier frequency-based studies? Do they not,in their processes and products,differ both in what they seek and in what they offer? Above all, do they not claim to have far greater potential for providing a firmer basis for teaching the 'real' language?

7 A main result of the earlier efforts at word study and selection were 'simplified' materials, including readers - extensive readers and supplementary readers, limited-vocabulary readers, 'built-in plateau readers' (West, 1926-), graded readers etc. In support of this work there were also papers or manuals justifying the methods of simplification on which they were based (eg Palmer, 1932; West, 1964), their nature and measurable impact. From early days there were however differences of view on how best to simplify and for what purposes etc. More recently (e.g. Lotherington-Woloszyn 1988) there have been insightful studies of how best to go about designing and adopting such materials.

Simplified readers have since been multiplying and the industry is not only thriving but also claims to be steadily improving its wares. Especially for E(S)FL "a plethora of readers ... has emerged in recent years, including rewritten classics, detective stories, adventure stories and the like" (Krashen, 1989). Besides serving the less-proficient beginner-reader, this industry now caters for readers/learners at the relatively advanced (specialist) stages. Every major publishing house brings out readers on new themes or readers that claim to use new ways of simplification (e.g. Heinemann Guided Readers as against Oxford Guided Readers, Longman Structural Readers or Macmillan 'Rangers'). And if their sales are any indication of their value or of the service being rendered, this industry can be seen to be making a sizeable contribution to TEF(S)L and perhaps other languages as well.Careful studies of such work should be of considerable value for teachers and materials designers in the field of second/foreign languages.

Doubt: Is there an established relationship between an author's dependence on word-lists and the quality or character of the materials he/she produces? Do good writers make use of such lists or do they mainly depend on their own experiences as teachers or as writers? Besides, is it true that such materials are really becoming better or is their popularity mainly a product of forceful promotion? Can it not be argued that most simplified readers distort normal discourse and in particular suggest a distortion of the normal patterns of information distribution (Honeyfield, 1977)?

A less generalisable point is the use of a 'definition vocabulary'. Instructional materials for second and foreign language teaching/learning and more particularly foreign 'learners' dictionaries' make use of a limited vocabulary to define words. Does this help make definitions clearer and more comprehensible or does it often result in less accurate (less dependable?) definitions? How helpful/harmful is such a definition vocabulary?

8 Simplification of texts has of late been criticised on grounds that it may be proving multiply harmful. Linguistically it is being doubted if simplification truly results in making for ease of learning. Research on the subject appears to be divided. Whereas, for example, Marks et. al., in a first language study, found that simplification makes reading passages more comprehensible for children, others (e.g. Williams, 1982) find little support for it. A few (e.g. Blau, 1982) find that simplification may in fact impair comprehension. Applied linguists who have made sizeable contributions to ESP materials (e.g. Allen & Widdowson, 1974) have, using examples from actual analysis, argued that where vocabulary or even syntactic simplification takes place, the message often gets complicated (e.g. Widdowson, 1978, 1979). Often, doing so also alters the necessary features of natural-language redundancy, thereby making the task of unpacking much more difficult for the learner (Parker & Chaudron, 1987).

A second, perhaps more widely held, view is that simplification goes against 'authenticity' in the teaching and learning of languages. There seems to be little doubt that controls (linguistic and other) are in perpetual tension with authenticity; the greater the controls the less natural becomes the piece of writing. So if teaching 'communicatively' demands the use of genuine language in 'naturally occurring' contexts, simplification of any kind must be its worst enemy. Use of 'authentic' materials thus stands against the grading and simplification of teaching materials as also of a teacher's own controlled language in the classroom. Of relevance here should be the understanding that linguistic 'usage' need not be the same as appropriate language 'use' in natural contexts of situation.

Doubt: Is authentic the same as genuine in the ordinary sense of that word? Is it also right to argue that authentic materials are necessarily those not written for the language classroom? If there is some truth in the understanding that books are often written with a good idea of who the reader(s) may be, why can't a typical classroom also be seen to constitute such readership?

Secondly, if true authenticity is to be judged by a learner's engagement with the texts (Widdowson, 1979), is there not reason to believe that efforts that contribute to making such reader-text engagement more meaningful are capable of proving their value? Are not such efforts relatable to that part of 'methodological' (in a wider sense) or 'textual' mediation which results in 'easifying' the reader-text encounter? Moreover, can they not be viewed as part of those pedagogic strategies which contribute to desirable forms of 'comprehensible input'?

10 But need we always simplify in order to make this encounter or engagement more authentic or can the answer come from using alternative strategies? Two such alternatives, both of which have found a place especially in LSP/ESP of the last twenty years, are that which seeks to make use of a different approach to simplification of linguistic materials (e.g. Widdowson, 1978) and that which looks for ways that ease the LSP learner's access to unsimplified/ unadapted materials (e.g. Bhatia, 1983)

Doubt: (a) Are such 'simple' materials more authentic; are they in fact more readable, more user-friendly? Doubts persist. The relative strengths of 'simplified' and 'simple' may also require some more study. It may not be altogether true to say that all simplifiers fail to take into account content, obscure the communicative structure of texts or produce less readable materials. Successful simplifiers have perhaps all along been taking care of both language and content.

(b) The second idea appears to be more recent (e.g. Swales, 1985) and it is apparently more linguistic than pedagogic. It is based on two kinds of understanding. One, that different 'genres' of language use are characterised by differing features of not only language but also discourse. Both, but especially the latter, are relatable to the purpose of such discourse and the conventionalised ways in which the 'insiders' who use that genre make use of the resources (linguistic and non-linguistic) at their disposal. Secondly, that once these features are analysed fully (through 'thick' language description), it should be possible to teach each genre to those who seek entrance into the specialist domain(s) where it is used. Genre-based ESP/EAP has become an important part of current work on languages for specific purposes (Swales, 1990) and it is premised on the belief that genres can be taught much like any other restricted language, provided the descriptions are full and their translation into instructional materials is done with care.

(c) Related to the work being done on genre analysis in ESP but with additional 'theoretical' inputs from the studies of 'language in society' (Martin, 1985) and another approach to the study of language and meaning(eg Halliday and Hasan, 1976), are some recent initiatives in genre-based study of

primary and secondary school writing, both of what it shows and how it can be improved. Once again the pedagogic purpose of this 'approach' appears to be to easify the pupil's access to academic discourse (or the language of schooling) and once again the belief is that 'awareness raising' may afford part of the answer to doing so.

Doubt: An obvious question to raise is whether genre analysis has anything to do with simplification. In analysing one or another use of language the linguist here seeks to understand the truth as fully as possible. Where he may be said to be adopting a simplification strategy is not in simplifying the input but in helping to ease the learner's entrance into a genre by a process of 'easification' (Bhatia, 1983). Can this be seen as an example of pedagogic simplification?

11 Pedagogic simplification of a different kind appears to be at work in the application of the schema theory to the learning and teaching of reading and listening. An important finding of the theory is that in order to comprehend a text the reader/listener activates his/her world knowledge. Especially in the reading of a foreign language this relevant knowledge - the schemata assumed by the writer, often includes not just linguistic and discoursal features of a text but also relevant knowledge of the culture in which the text operates.Research done in the early years of the 1980s (e.g. Hudson 1982, Adams 1982 or Johnson 1981, 1982) has provided substantial evidence to support the view that background information of different kinds helps a geat deal in making materials more accessible to second-language learners. A good deal of work has been going into helping readers/listeners become aware of the specific nature of their need and to bringing into use the necessary background knowledge that they require to engage the text. Schema theory appears now to have immense potential in contexts where English (or any other world language) has to be acquired as a language of knowledge retrieval and/or generation.

Doubt: The question once again is 'Is the application of schema theory an instance of pedagogic simplification or should it be designated differently?' The answer - that it enhances the possibilities of learning and thereby contributes to more successful teaching, does not necessarily relate to either the purposes or the processes of simplification although it can be argued that it serves the same purpose as any other strategies that teachers use to make input comprehensible on the way to building learner self-reliance.

In Conclusion: There must undoubtedly be much more to simplification - linguistic or pedagogic or both. What is clear however is a) that the subject has been receiving a good deal of attention from scholars whose interests span a vast territory in linguistics (theoretical and applied) and related studies and b) that a lot of questions remain unanswered or half answered. Any attempt to bring some of these together under one cover should, it seems to me, be of considerable value to language scholars and practitioners.

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